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ABSTRACT

This book concerning the need for more appropriate approaches to intercultural counseling in counselor training includes these articles: (1) "Comparative Immigration Patterns in the U.S., Australia and Canada: Social and Educational Implications" (R. J. Samuda); (2) "Theories of Counselling: A Comparative Analysis" (C. E. Vontress); (3) "Intercultural Counselling and Nonverbal Behavior: An Overview" (A. Wolfgang); (4) "Nonverbal Aspects of Intercultural Counselling: Interpersonal Issues" (P. H. Waxer); (5) "Intercultural Counselling: U.S. Perspectives" (P. B. Pedersen); (6) "Intercultural Counselling: British Perspectives" (G. K. Verma); (7) "Intercultural Counselling: West German Perspectives" (W. R. Minsel and W. Herff); (8) "Attitudes Towards Immigrants: Australian Perspectives" (R. Taft); (9) "Current Methods in the Assessment of Minorities: A Critique" (R. J. Samuda); (10) "Cognitive Strategies in Cognitive Assessments: An Intercultural Perspective" (P. J. Gamlin); (11) "Techniques for Identifying Learning-Impaired Minority Students" (R. B. MacIntyre); (12) "What Does Research Have to Say about the Testing of Minorities" (S. H. Irvine); (13) "Counselling Chinese Immigrants: Issues and Answers" (S. L. Kong); (14) "Counselling South Asian Immigrants: Issues and Answers" (J. Bhatnagar); (15) "Counselling West Indian Immigrants: Issues and Answers" (I. Elliston); (16) "Counselling Native Canadians: Issues and Answers" (A. W. Blue and R. C. Annis); (17) "Counselling European Immigrants: Issues and Answers" (J. O. Wyspianski and L. A. Fournier-Ruggles); (18) "Psychological Adaptation of Foreign Students" (J. W. Berry); (19) "Counselling Minority Immigrants for Employment" (W. H. Tinglin); (20) "Counseling Immigrants for Employment" (W. A. Borgen and N. E. Amundson); (21) "Counselling Minorities Within the Correctional Service" (J. Lewis); (22) "Counselling Minorities with Learning or Cognitive Deficits" (A. E. Brown); (23) "Counselling Double-Minority Status Clients" (M. J. Westwood and J. W. Vargo); (24) "Counselling Minorities in Higher Education" (B. W. Dick); (25) "Training Counsellors to Enhance Their Sensitivity to Nonverbal Behavior" (A. Wolfgang and P. H. Waxer); (26) "A Training Model for Implementing Non-Biased Assessment Procedures" (R. T. Chodzinski and R. J. Samuda); (27) "Increasing the Effectiveness of School Counselling: A Multicultural Perspective" (R. T. Chodzinski); (28) "Counselling in Multicultural Schools: Implications for Teachers and Students" (R. P. Perry and R. A. Clifton); and (29) "A Model for Using Intercultural Counselling Insights and Skills to Enhance Teachers' Intercultural Competence" (J. Torney-Purta). (NB)

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Intercultural Counselling and Assessment

Global Perspectives

Intercultural Counselling

and Assessment

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Edited by

Ronald J. Samuda
Queen's University

and

Aaron Wolfgang
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education,
University of Toronto

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For Raymond Shevenell and Lionel Desjarlais
R.S.

In dedication to my very best friend
Lauraine Robertson
A.W.

Foreword

The ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious diversity and similarities among Canadians are directly reflected among students. These similarities and differences are addressed by the ethic or policy of multiculturalism. This philosophy of dealing with our commonalities and our particularities has had a strong impact on our educational thought in the past years, but there is still much to be done in revising our educational policies and practices.

Multiculturalism attempts to foster a society in which our similarities and differences are accepted and respected. It recognizes that cultural retention and the further development of our cultural heritages is part of the Canadian identity. It also recognizes that cultural sharing is fundamental to a society where all groups and their cultures must be recognized as part of the mainstream culture of Canadian society. In addition, the idea of multiculturalism involves the recognition that individuals have the right to choose the cultural attributes they wish from among the cultural patterns in Canada, within the general accepted limits of a democratic society where not only our own personal rights and responsibilities are important but those of others as well. Multiculturalism is also based upon the belief that human rights and civil liberties are fundamental to the growth and development of a healthy pluralistic society. Such are some of the fundamentals of multiculturalism in Canada. Equality of opportunity to access and participation within Canadian society and the Canadian identity are crucial. As these are fundamentals of multiculturalism, so they are fundamentals of multicultural education.

Multicultural education must be measured by the extent to which it fulfills the ethic of multiculturalism which Canadian society has adopted. The schools as social and cultural institutions have a responsibility to follow general social and cultural policies. Thus our schools and educators have been adjusting, but sometimes too slowly, to multiculturalism.

One of the fundamentals of multicultural education must be that cultural differences are not viewed as cultural deficiences. To this end, we must stop making automatic judgements that what is different is less desirable or even bad. Unfortunately, some psychologists of education have been all too prone to fall into this way of thinking. The studies or articles in this volume represent an attempt to raise questions and direct educators as to how cultural differences can be accommodated in education – in evaluation and assessment, in counselling and placement.

Past practices in education have been less than successful in the eyes of many parents, students and educators themselves. Students have been streamed into programs not on the basis of their interests or abilities but all too frequently on the basis of ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic or cultural stereotypes and bias. Equally serious is the social class bias of our education.

Moreover, in a society that is pluralistic, dynamic and complex, it is important that we do not make judgements based upon overgeneralized labels. For example, ethnic origin or racial origin does not equal culture. Because a student, or any person, is of a particular colour or ancestry, "we" cannot assume a particular set of symbols, values, or socio-economic beliefs or patterns. Attaching cultural attributes to physical attributes or other inherent or ascribed characteristics such as ethnic identity is part of what society refers to as racism.

Some of the most difficult forms of bias to deal with in society are the institutionalized prejudices. Practices which were accepted previously become ingrained in systems and unfortunately continue to be accepted when they have a severe limiting effect upon the growth, development, and progress of some students. Teachers, counsellors and other educators have a professional responsibility to re-examine their beliefs and assumptions and their practices continually.

Multiculturalism addresses the life-style or symbolic dimension of our life, from song and dance to food, clothing and ceremonies. It also addresses the way of life, the beliefs and values and the way these are expressed from day to day. However, it also addresses our life chances, the institutional and social, economic and political structures and how these affect our lives. You will quickly recognize that not only does multiculturalism have these dimensions, so does education. It is important that we bring them together in a multicultural education.

Keith A. McLeod, President
Canadian Council for Multicultural
and Intercultural Education

Contents

FOREWORD vii
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS xi
PREFACE xv

PART I: PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEORETICAL CONCEPTS
1: Comparative Immigration Patterns in the U.S., Australia and Canada: Social and Educational Implications. *R.J. Samuda* . . 5
2: Theories of Counselling: A Comparative Analysis. *C.E. Vontress* 19
3: Intercultural Counselling and Nonverbal Behavior: An Overview. *A. Wolfgang* 33
4: Nonverbal Aspects of Intercultural Counselling: Interpersonal Issues. *P.H. Waxer* 49

PART II: COMPARATIVE MODELS AND PERSPECTIVES FROM MULTICULTURAL COUNTRIES
5: Intercultural Counselling: U.S. Perspectives. *P.B. Pedersen* . 71
6: Intercultural Counselling: British Perspectives. *G.K. Verma* . 83
7: Intercultural Counselling: West German Perspectives. *W.-R. Minsel and W. Herff* 97
8: Attitudes Towards Immigrants: Australian Perspectives. *R. Taft* 109

PART III: ASSESSMENT AND PLACEMENT OF ETHNIC MINORITIES
9: Current Methods in the Assessment of Minorities: A Critique. *R.J. Samuda* 127
10: Cognitive Strategies in Cognitive Assessments: An Intercultural Perspective. *P.J. Gamlin* 141
11: Techniques for Identifying Learning-Impaired Minority Students. *R.B. MacIntyre* 155
12: What Does Research Have to Say about the Testing of Minorities. *S.H. Irvine* 165

PART IV: COUNSELLING SPECIFIC ETHNIC AND CULTURAL GROUPS
13: Counselling Chinese Immigrants: Issues and Answers. *S.L. Kong* 181
14: Counselling South Asian Immigrants: Issues and Answers. *J. Bhatnagar* 191
15: Counselling West Indian Immigrants: Issues and Answers. *I. Elliston* 203
16: Counselling Native Canadians: Issues and Answers. *A.W. Blue and R.C. Annis* 215
17: Counselling European Immigrants: Issues and Answers. *J.O. Wyspianski and L.A. Fournier-Ruggles* 225
18: Psychological Adaptation of Foreign Students. *J.W. Berry* . . . 235

PART V: COUNSELLING MINORITIES IN SPECIFIC ENVIRONMENTS
19: Counselling Minority Immigrants for Employment. *W.H. Tinglin* 253
20: Counselling Immigrants for Employment. *W.A. Borgen and N.E. Amundson* 269
21: Counselling Minorities Within the Correctional Service. *J. Lewis* 281
22: Counselling Minorities with Learning or Cognitive Deficits. *A.E. Brown* 295
23: Counselling Double-Minority Status Clients. *M.J. Westwood and J.W. Vargo* 303
24: Counselling Minorities in Higher Education. *B.W. Dick* 315

PART VI: TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR INTERCULTURAL COUNSELLING
25: Training Counsellors to Enhance Their Sensitivity to Nonverbal Behavior. *A. Wolfgang and P.H. Waxer* 325
26: A Training Model for Implementing Non-Biased Assessment Procedures. *R.T. Chodzinski and R.J. Samuda* 343
27: Increasing the Effectiveness of School Counselling: A Multicultural Perspective. *R.T. Chodzinski* 355
28: Counselling in Multicultural Schools: Implications for Teachers and Students. *R.P. Perry and R.A. Clifton* 367
29: A Model for Using Intercultural Counselling Insights and Skills to Enhance Teachers' Intercultural Competence. *J. Torney-Purta* 383

AUTHOR INDEX 395
SUBJECT INDEX 403

List of Contributors

Norman E. Amundson, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Counselling Psychology at the Faculty of Education of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

Robert C. Annis, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor in the Department of Native Studies at Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada.

John W. Berry, Ph.D., is Professor of Psychology in the Department of Psychology at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, and President of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology.

Joti Bhatnagar, Ph.D., is Professor of Psychology in the Department of Education at Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Arthur W. Blue, Ph.D., is Professor and Head of the Department of Native Studies at Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada.

William A. Borgen, Ph.D., is Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Counselling Psychology at the Faculty of Education of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

A. Edwin Brown, Ed.D., is Assistant Superintendent for the Curriculum and Program Division of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Raymond T. Chodzinski, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Guidance and Counselling in the College of Education at Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada.

Rodney A. Clifton, Ph.D., is Professor of Sociology of Education in the Department of Educational Administration and Foundations at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Bill Dick, Ph.D., is Director of Counselling Services at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

Inez N. Elliston, Ph.D., is Counsellor and Consultant in Multiculturalism for the Scarborough Board of Education, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada.

Lynn A. Fournier-Ruggles, B.A., is a Case Presenting Officer at the Refugee Status Advisory Committee of Canada Employment and Immigration, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Peter J. Gamlin, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Applied Psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Wolfgang Herff, Ph.D., is member of the Department of Psychology in the Faculty of Education of the University of Cologne, Federal Republic of Germany.

Sidney H. Irvine, Ph.D., is Professor in the Department of Psychology at Plymouth Polytechnic, Plymouth, Devon, England.

John Lewis, M.Ed., is a counsellor for the Correctional Service of Canada and candidate for the Ph.D. in the Department of Counseling and Guidance at the School of Education of Syracuse University, New York, U.S.A.

Shiu L. Kong, Ph.D., LL.D., C.M., is Professor in the Department of Educational Psychology at the Faculty of Education of the University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Robert B. MacIntyre, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Special Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Wolf-Rüdiger Minsel, Ph.D., is Professor and Director of the Department of Psychology, Faculty of Education, at the University of Cologne, Federal Republic of Germany.

Paul B. Pedersen, Ph.D., is Professor and Chairman of the Department of Counseling and Guidance in the School of Education at the University of Syracuse, Syracuse, New York, U.S.A.

Raymond P. Perry, Ph.D., is Professor in the Department of Psychology at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Ronald J. Samuda, Ph.D., is Professor in the Area of Psychology and Philosophy at the Faculty of Education of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

Ronald Taft, Ph.D., is Professor Emeritus of Social Psychology in the Faculty of Education of Monash University, Victoria, Australia.

Winston H. Tinglin, M.Ed., is a Consultant, Newcomer Services Branch in the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Toronto, Ontario, and a candidate for the Ph.D. at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Judith Torney-Purta, Ph.D., is Professor of Human Development and Director for Academic Programs at the Institute for Child Study at the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, U.S.A.

James W. Vargo, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Occupational Therapy of the Faculty of Rehabilitative Medicine at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

Gajendra K. Verma, Ph.D., is Reader in Intercultural Education and Director of the International Centre for Intercultural Studies at the University of Bradford, Bradford, West Yorkshire, England.

Clemmont E. Vontress, Ph.D., is Professor of Education in Counseling in the Department of Education at George Washington University, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Peter H. Waxer, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in Psychology in the Counselling and Development Center of York University, Downsview, Ontario, and Chief Psychologist for the York-Finch General Hospital, Ontario, Canada.

Marvin J. Westwood, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Counselling Psychology at the Faculty of Education of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

Aaron Wolfgang, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Applied Psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and the University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

John O. Wyspianski, Ph.D., is Professor of Organizational Psychology and Human Resource Development in the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Preface

For almost two decades, Canadian counsellors, teachers and administrators, in the schools of such cities as Toronto, Montreal, Edmonton and Vancouver, have been struggling to cope with a new and increasingly complex multicultural student population. The urgent need for changes in the processes of teaching and counselling was precipitated by the new Canadian immigration policies, occurring in the 1960s, which led to massive waves of immigrants from diverse parts of the world. The new trends in immigration significantly affected the racial, ethnic, cultural and linguistic mix in the schools. In addition, the establishment of an official federal policy of "Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework" in 1971 created a new perspective in the relationships of the different ethnic and cultural groups. But it also created a demand for a new kind of professional – the intercultural counsellor. The establishment of multiculturalism as a federal policy does not guarantee that change will occur at the level of the school and, more particularly, at the level of the classroom, and in the one-to-one interaction between teacher and student or between counsellor and client.

However, Canada is not alone in facing the issues and problems that come with an increasingly diverse ethnic, racial, cultural and linguistic population. In several of the industrialized Western nations, similar conditions have occurred as a result of immigration. In Great Britain and France, hundreds of thousands of immigrants from the former colonial territories have poured into the "mother countries" in search of a better standard of living. In the highly industrial centres of Western Europe, the "Gastarbeiter" pattern of temporary workers has helped to bring prosperity in the booming post-war years, but along with those workers have come the problems of coping with cultural diversity in the social and educational institutions in the various countries. West Germany has been particularly affected by the influx of children of Turkish immigrants in the schools.

In countries like Canada, Australia and the United States, the movement of culturally diverse permanent settlers, especially in the past quarter century, has had serious consequences for the social and educational institutions. The need for new perspectives in counselling ethnic minorities is universal. That need was identified at a conference on Multiculturalism in Education sponsored by the Ontario Association for Curriculum Development in April 1977. In its edited proceedings, the OACD conference was severely critical of the role of the counsellor as being either absent or inadequate in dealing with the problems of the culturally diverse students in the schools of the industrial centres like Metropolitan Toronto. The counselling group summarized their concerns under the categories of testing, evaluation and placement, counsellor training and research.

The indiscriminate use of standarized tests was identified as a dangerous and counterproductive means of evaluating and placing ethnic and linguistic minorities in the schools. The special role of counsellor training and research was identified as a core concern. How can counsellors function effectively within a culturally diverse school system if they themselves are the products of an ethnocentric and biased system emphasizing, in the case of some Canadians, a preponderance of Anglo-Celtic values and monocultural pedagogical concepts that interpret ethnic and cultural difference as deviance?

The need for more appropriate approaches to intercultural counselling, in the in-service and pre-service training of counsellors and social scientists, was further emphasized by the findings of an Ontario Ministry of Education survey conducted in Ontario schools in 1978-79. The report of that survey demonstrated the dearth of guidelines and methods in intercultural counselling and emphasized the urgent need for source material.

This publication is intended to fill that gap. It is designed to be both theoretical and practical, and has been essentially geared for use by Faculties of Education, Psychology and Social Work, by In-service Education programs organized by school boards and by provincial government programs organized for training specialists in guidance, employment counsellors, teachers and counsellors in the schools of the Correctional Service, Special Education teachers (at the graduate and pre-service levels) and as a resource for practising counsellors.

One unique feature of this much needed volume is that it takes a global approach to the theoretical and philosophical concepts. Comparative models are presented by experts from five different countries including the United States, Great Britain, West Germany and Australia. It deals with the difficult issues of assessment and placement of ethnic minorities in the schools and other institutions and focuses on the counselling of specific ethnic and cultural groups and the counselling of minorities in specific environments like employment and higher education. The final part is concerned with training the intercultural counsellor to enhance his/her sensitivity to nonverbal behavior and to apply intercultural counselling skills in practice.

The book is divided into six parts each comprising four or five papers by selected leaders in the particular specialty. The organization of parts and chapters follows a logical sequence beginning with the general and focussing upon the specific. The book can be used by instructors and organizers of in-service programs to proceed from one unit to the other in the sequence presented; or, in the case of those who wish to focus on special concerns, it can be used as a resource to provide answers and strategies in coping with the intercultural issues and problems of various ethnic groups in culturally diverse circumstances.

We believe that this book will help to provide the kinds of insights that will engender greater sensitivity and a more professional approach to the task of coping with an increasingly varied and mixed population of students in schools; and that it can be usefully applied to adult populations where similar conditions apply. We believe, too, that it will enhance the in-service and pre-service training of those who aspire to become professional helpers in the field of intercultural counselling.

This book is based upon papers presented to an invited Symposium on Intercultural Counselling, held at the Donald Gordon Centre, Queen's University at Kingston, Ontario, Canada, October 23-26, 1983. The project for a symposium was supported from the funds made available by the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Department of the Secretary of State of the Government of Canada. We are grateful to the Centre for their hospitality and to the program officers and administrators of the Multiculturalism Directorate for their encouragement and assistance.

We are also indebted to a number of persons for their assistance at various stages of the work. We thank Mark McKechnie and Callista Markotich for their assistance in the copyediting process and for preparing the indexes. And we wish to acknowledge with thanks the contribution of Betty Shaw who typed conference materials, papers, and indexes and helped with various aspects of the administration throughout the period of the project.

Ronald J. Samuda
Faculty of Education, Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario
August, 1984

PART I:

Philosophical and Theoretical Concepts

PART I

Introduction

In Part I, Ronald J. Samuda leads off by providing us with a synopsis of the more recent global patterns of migration over the past 20 years. The underlying premise of the Samuda paper is that the etiology and development of multiculturalism in Canada can be best understood by viewing immigration policies and trends against the backdrop of a global gestalt. Canadian multiculturalism is evaluated by Samuda in terms of comparative economic, political and educational perspectives.

While Samuda provides us with perspective of comparative immigration patterns, Clement E. Vontress further gives us an insightful comparative analysis of counselling theories. Vontress makes the point that, unfortunately, there are no cross-cultural theories of counselling to serve us, and that it is doubtful that a psychological theory can explain universal human behavior unless it transcends cultural differences. He further elaborates, by developing the point in examining five groups of major counselling theories, that as a philosophy existentialism best captures the total reality of being and provides more direction for cross-cultural counsellors than do, for instance, rational, psychoanalytic or phenomenological theories.

Aaron Wolfgang picks up from where Vontress leaves off by providing an analysis of the role, impact and importance of nonverbal behavior in intercultural counselling. He provides us with an overview of the research on nonverbal behavior and the implications of this research for training and counsellor-client matching. Like Vontress, Wolfgang discusses some of the shortcomings of counselling theories and thus, provides a framework or guide whereby intercultural counsellors may better serve their clients from ethnic minority backgrounds.

Peter Waxer also discusses nonverbal aspects of intercultural counselling, but he looks at some different issues and a number of nonverbal variables that have a direct impact on interpersonal relationships in the intercultural counselling context. These are for example, physical appearance, gaze behavior, cultural definitions of time and so forth. Another category of variables that has emerged from Waxer's scanning of the literature are the more higher-order interpersonal variables that possess a powerful nonverbal component. These variables, such as client expectations and preference, homophily and credibility are considered in the light of their implications for intercultural counselling. Finally, Waxer gives us some of his thoughts as to future directions in this area.

Thus, Part I is intended as an overview of comparative immigration patterns, issues in intercultural counselling, theories, nonverbal behavior, a look to the future and some implications of the research in nonverbal behavior for intercultural counselling.

Comparative Immigration Patterns in the U.S., Australia and Canada: Social and Educational Implications

Ronald J. Samuda

Migration comprises the movement of permanent settlers, temporary workers, refugees and illegal aliens. While the movement of persons for permanent settlement used to be the dominant form of migration, today that form of migration is mainly applicable to the United States, Canada and Australia. The other three categories of temporary workers, refugees and illegal aliens supply large numbers of foreign-born population to these countries. Since World II, and especially since 1960, the relatively sudden and mounting volume of visibly and linguistically different persons has seriously impacted the societies of all industrialized countries with the sole exception of densely populated Japan.

Temporary Migration

By the end of the 1960s, nearly one of every six workers in Western Europe was in immigrant (Petras, 1981, p. 63). In West Germany, the figure for guest workers jumped from 55,000 to more than a 250,000 in two years (Salt, 1981, p. 138). By 1973, France and West Germany each had about 2.5 million alien workers accounting for 10–12 percent of the labour force; Switzerland had 600,000 or 30 percent of its labour pool from abroad; Belgium and Sweden each had over 200,000 (seven percent), and even little Luxembourg had 33,000, representing 30 percent

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Ronald J. Samuda, Ph. D., is Professor in the Area of Psychology and Philosophy at the Faculty of Education of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

of its labour force (Salt, 1981, p. 139). Clearly, the economic recovery and expansion of Western Europe coincided with the drive of Canada and Australia to augment their economic and industrial development through planned and expanded immigration policies.

The international competition for immigrant workers intensified throughout the fat years of the 1960s. By 1970, reserves had been drawn from the exogenous surplus labour pools at the southern end of the European continent, from north and central Africa, from the Middle East, south Asia and the Caribbean. While Britain and France permitted settler immigration, particularly from nations of ex-colonial territories, the major model developed in Western Europe was the "guest-worker" program best exemplified in West Germany and Switzerland, where the expectation was that temporary workers would fulfill a specified work permit or contract for one-years terms and then would leave the country voluntarily in periods of economic downswings. This has not been the case. Social, political and economic problems have been created as a result of the presence of an estimated 12 million migrants to northwest Europe (Salt, 1981).

In the United Kingdom, recent reports of civil disobedience amongst the Black and South Asian communities, especially in the industrial cities of Liverpool, Birmingham and London, have highlighted the problems of accommodating a new and atypical population in times of economic recession. As a consequence, by 1969 the number of immigrant pupils from India, Pakistan and the West Indies was estimated at 250,000, representing 3.2 percent of the full-time school population (Morrish, 1971). However, this proportion appeared far greater in the inner-cities where the minorities tended to cluster in ghettoes.

Permanent Settlement Patterns

Since World War II, the overwhelming proportion of permanent immigrant settlement has occurred in the United States, Canada and Australia. This is so because these three countries are rich in natural resources, are less densely populated, and are essentially built on immigrant labour. Perhaps this accounts for some remarkable similarities in immigration policies and trends.

U.S. Settlement

U.S. immigration history was based on preferential policies for Western European settlers, supported by some very spurious theories of psychological assessment and eugenics advanced by such men as Carl Brigham, Henry Goddard, Robert Yerkes and Lewis Terman. It seems almost incongruous, in retrospect, to recall the means by which U.S. immigration policies developed. Genetic interpretations of socioeconomic class and ethnic group differences were based on IQ scores derived from the intelligence tests administered to 2 million World War I draftees under the direction of Colonel Robert Yerkes with the assistance of many leading experimental psychologists (Kamin, 1976).

By such means, U.S. immigration policies from 1921 to 1965 emphasized the selection of Northwestern European immigrants. The quota concept was reaffirmed by the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act which justified the retention of quotas on the basis of assimilability, and preferential treatment of persons from countries with historical and cultural ties to the United States.

Beginning in 1965, U.S. immigration policy moved progressively towards a more generous, regulated and worldwide policy (Keeley & Elwell, 1981). Thus, since 1969 there has been an upward trend from an average of 383,000 per year to a total figure of 600,000 in 1978 including refugees from Cuba, Haiti, Indochina and the Soviet Union. The result has been that European migration to the United States declined absolutely and relatively, while Asian, Caribbean and Latin American immigration increased sharply.

Australian Settlement

Like the United States, both Canada and Australia have grown and prospered from immigration. Despite differences in the history of the two Commonwealth countries, there are significant similarities in their modes and stages of immigration. Two uniquely characteristic differences exist: on the one hand, Canada has traditionally been plagued or blessed by two linguistically and culturally separate charter groups — the English and the French. On the other hand, Australia — because of its relatively small population and immense distance from other continents — had to contend with the overpopulated countries of Asia who were looking longingly at the huge land mass as a place of settlement. In particular, the relatively lower standard of life of Chinese immigrants, contributed to the unfortunate history their immigration, which drastically affected Australian labour relations in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly, these factors led to the fear of the "Yellow Peril" and to the passing of the Australian Immigration Restriction Act at the turn of the century (Gilchrist & Murray, 1968).

Like Canada and the U.S., Australia exhibited a strong preference for British and Northwestern European immigrants with the same explicit policy of discrimination against non-Europeans. The Australian, Canadian and U.S. governments may have arrived at their policies by means of different routes, but the net effect amounted to a preponderance of Anglo-Celtic and North European settlers prior to the 1960s.

At the start of World War II, the Australian immigration policy resulted in a relatively small population of six and a half million, of which almost 90 percent were native-born (Nicholls, 1971). When post-war economic and industrial expansion required additional supplies of workers, 170,000 European refugees from German Displaced Persons camps were accepted in 1947. The federal government also initiated sponsored immigration from Britain and some European countries with a planned program of population expansion at the annual rate of one percent (Zubrzycki, 1981). Of the estimated 2 million European migrants who settled in Australia throughout the ensuing 20 years, 60 percent were non-British. By 1966, immigrants of non-British heritage rose from 10 percent, in 1948, to 20 percent and included a considerable influx of Italians, Greeks and others of Southern European origin (Nicholls, 1971). Further liberalization of immigration policies occurred in 1966, when the Australian government abandoned its "white Australian policy" and facilitated the entry of well-qualified people of non-European origin. By 1970, assisted passages were extended to Turks, Arabs and others from the Middle East (Fabinyi, 1971).

As a consequence, immigration to Australia almost doubled. It rose to a peak of 130,000 settlers in the early 1970s from an annual influx of 70,000. In terms of actual immigrants, the net gain from July 1947 to June 1978 was estimated at over 2.5 million (2,571,000). However, taking into account the children born of immigrant parents, postwar immigration amounted to an increase of close to 4 million people for a total growth of 6.7 million over that period (Zubrycki, 1981). In just over two decades, post-war immigration was responsible for about 57 percent of the nation's growth. To emphasize the point further, by 1971 the combined proportion of foreign-born and native-born population of foreign parentage was about 40 percent, exceeding the comparable Canadian figure of 33 percent (Zubrzycki, 1981).

Integrative services for the entering migrant were further extended by the Prime Minister's announcement, in May 1978, that the government would spend an additional 50 million dollars on migrant services over the following three years. The migrant study of 1968, by the New South Wales Department of Education had found that migrant students (37 percent at the primary and 20 percent at the secondary level) were not receiving appropriate nor sufficient instruction in English. A 1970 Victoria study confirmed such findings and influenced the Ministry of Education to further augment the teaching of English to migrant children through special teacher-training programs and special classes for migrant students (Bhatnagar & Hamalian, 1984). In 1972, the Commonwealth Departments of Education and Immigration, the Victoria Education Department and the Catholic Education Office of Victoria conducted a study at Melbourne. It revealed that although two-thirds of the migrant students were having problems learning the English language, they were not attending special classes. Programs for teachers proliferated and the enrollment of students in special language classes rose from 9,000 in 1970 to 90,000 in 1976 (Claydon, 1980).

Similarly, the presence of the non-English speaking ethnic minorities led to the introduction of bilingual teaching programs and to further improvements in training teachers for migrant children. But most significant was the official government support, in 1978, of an articulated policy based on the findings and recommendations of the Galbally Report on "Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants."

In its major policy statement, the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (Zubrzycki, 1977) is quoted as stating:

> What we believe Australia should be working towards is not a oneness, but a unity, not a similarity, but a composite, not a melting pot but a voluntary bond of dissimilar people sharing a common political and institutional structure.

This statement, as Zubrzycki commented, implies the acceptance of values underlying the concept of multiculturalism in the present-day structure of Australian society.

The Focus on Canada

The average Canadian harbours the belief that he is a citizen of a country with little or no "race problem." As Hughes and Kallen stated (1974, p. 213), the Canadian national self-image has, from the beginning, been that of a tolerant, law-abiding, nation dedicated in practice, as in ideology, to democracy and peace. Alas, such an image comprises more myth than reality. The fact is that Canada, like the United States and Australia, has traditionally subscribed to a deliberate policy of preferential immigration for persons from Northwestern Europe and, especially, those originating from the United Kingdom. Clearly, prevailing racist ideologies helped shape immigration policies which were predicated on the notion of white supremacy and supported by the U.S. interpretations of intelligence test scores of World War I American soldiers. In promulgating the so-called "progressive" early twentieth-century immigration procedures, Clifford Sifton justified his stance on the basis of "biological" qualities as the criteria for and against the entry of ethnic groups, ascribing to peoples of the southern climates (especially Blacks) the label of climatic unsuitability (Hughes & Kallen, 1974).

Canada's treatment of Asians, in the early part of the century, was not unlike that of Australia and the United States. The Chinese and Japanese were regarded as the "oriental problem". When the Chinese were admitted in the late nineteenth century, it was strictly on the basis of cheap, transitory and temporary employment to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway. That exclusionary policy was applied to the Chinese, Japanese, South Asians and Blacks until well into the fifties. Indeed, the Chinese Immigration Act operating in the twenties overtly excluded from Canada all Chinese except university students, merchants, Canadian-born Chinese returning from abroad and diplomatic personnel. Even when the Canadian immigration laws were re-examined in 1952, the Canadian Minister of Immigration, like his predecessors before him, defended the regulations on "scientific grounds." Canada even drew the line at admitting Jewish refugees from Nazism during the 1930s because they were also considered unassimilable (Burnet, 1984).

The Origins of Multiculturalism in Canada

There seems no fundamental difference in Canadian immigration policy from that of Australia and the United States prior to 1962. Differences exist in the details of administration, but not in essence. A true understanding of two decades of changes in Canadian immigration policies – and the official recognition of Canada as a multicultural society – can only be gleaned by squarely facing the etiology of events as they emerged in the sixties. It was the French-English conflict which spurred the change. As the decade of the 1960s began, a substantial portion of French Canadians began to identify themselves increasingly as Québécois, for, as Professor Burnet (1984) says it so well, "The germs of nationalism had been incubating in Québec for a long time." Québec's separatist movement flared into a period of terrorism and later prompted Prime Minister Trudeau to invoke the War Measures Act in 1970.

Lester Pearson's response to the threat of Québec separation was to establish a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. It should be emphasized that the commission's designation originally employed the word "biculturalism" – not "multiculturalism." The issue of language was of particular importance to the emergence of multiculturalism in Canada. The Official Languages Act of 1969 made French an official language of Canada and extended to Francophones outside of Québec special language rights. That turn of events sparked heated and antagonistic responses from some other ethnic groups. The Ukranians were particularly vocal, especially in the Western provinces where they constitude a relatively large minority (Bociurkiw, 1978). Objections were stated against the title that recognized only two ethnic cultures. Influential minority groups like the Ukranians advocated an official policy of multiculturalism, rather than biculturalism, whereby there would be no pressure to become assimilated into either the English- or the French-Canadian culture.

The multiculturalism movement coincided with a radical shift in Canadian immigration policy which, in 1962, removed the country of origin and racial barriers as entry regulations while placing the emphasis on education, training and skills. As Kalbach wrote, "The early 1960's were blessed with an improving economy and an expansionist mood that surfaced in the government's 1966 White Paper on immigration . . ." (1979, p. 23). Changes in immigration procedures included the elimination of all references to racial and ethnic characteristics as criteria for admission and, instead, employed an "ethnic-blind" selection system using a nine-factor point system: education and training, personal qualities, occupational demand, occupational skills, age, arranged employment, knowledge of English and French, presence of relatives in Canada and area of destination.

The introduction of the point system led to the highest annual immigration of the post-war period; more importantly, it changed the character of the Canadian population by introducing large numbers of visible non-European minorities. From a mere handful of privileged

South Asians and West Indians, residing in Canada in the two post-war decades, the numbers rose dramatically. By 1977, Caribbean immigrants from Jamaica and Trinidad alone, rose to an estimated 100,000 while the South Asian immigrants – from India and Pakistan – and the influx from Africa numbered 271,598 and 54,485 respectively. Hong Kong and the Phillipines became major suppliers of workers and the immigrants from Southern Europe (Portuguese, Italians, Greeks and Yugoslavs) continued to pour into the country in large numbers (Samuda & Crawford, 1980).

The new Canadian Act, developed from the Green Paper of the Department of Manpower and Immigration in 1973, was finally proclaimed in force on April 10, 1978. Like the Australian pattern, it linked immigration to economic conditions in Canada with a revised point system developed along the same categories as those in 1966, but with different values. Despite economic recession, Canada committed itself to continuing immigrant settlement with the goal of 120,000 in 1980 including refugees from Indochina.

The real impact of the two decades of so-called "ethnic-blind" immigration procedures can be better appreciated by reference to some specifies of one peak year. In 1974, as an example, almost 18 percent of Canadian immigrants arrived from the British Isles; 23 percent came from Europe (including large proportions of Portuguese, Greeks, Italians and Yugoslavs); 12 percent came from the United States, while 11 percent came from the Caribbean; and over 23 percent came from Asia with close to 5 percent from Africa. Consider what that means for the schools and social services of the centers of settlement. In one year, Metropolitan Toronto received close to 60 percent of all the immigrant students since Ontario has consistently been the favoured province of immigrant settlement, and Toronto the ultimate place of residence and work.

The percentage of foreign-born students in Metropolitan Toronto rose from 31 percent in 1951 to 42 percent in 1961, and to 44 percent in 1971. The number of ethnic minority students in the schools controlled by the Toronto Board of Education was estimated at greater than half of the total school population. In 1977, the Director, Duncan Green, estimated that there were 70 ethnic groups or sub-groups with as many different languages, and that 400 ethnic organizations existed in Toronto alone. Thirty percent of the students were foreign-born and 46 percent had a first language other than English.

Does Canadian Multiculturalism Work?

Officially, the federal government of Canada has accepted multiculturalism within a bilingual framework since Prime Minister Trudeau's announcement in October 1971. Although the multicultural policy was designed and negotiated to serve the needs of other long-established European ethnic minority groups, the policy represents a 180-degree turn in the attitudes and perspectives of the government of Canada towards people of non-European race and those of atypical ethnicity, language and culture. Thus, from the early sixties, the schools in the industrial urban centers – and especially Toronto – have been faced with an increasingly diverse school population. However, the sudden change occurred without preparation in the school system, and the teacher education faculties did not have a planned in-service teacher-training program. Nor was there any reasonable degree of integration by any federal government agency. Changes in the educational systems simply occurred on an *ad hoc* basis.

In her paper on the "Myths of Multiculturalism" (1974), Professor Jean Burnet stated: "It is sometimes considered that, having stated the policy, the government forgot about it except at election times" (p. 40). However, she also demonstrated the fact that multiculturalism is more than a campaign slogan of the liberal party by delineating the accomplishments of the movement while pinpointing some of the myths associated with it.

Despite some very positive accomplishments, Breton (1980) claims that the movement has achieved no more than limited success: the dominant groups have tended to treat the issue as essentially symbolic; recognition of minority cultures is often granted basically as a token expression of cultural torelance; and that the Anglophone majority comprised the British and Northwestern European settlers tend to become assimilated into what is now referred to as the "Euro-Canadian majority." Relatively few immigrant settlers have become linguistically or culturally integrated into French Canada. Thus, as Richmond (1969, pp. 87–90) stated, "The traditional pattern of Euro-Canadian dominance has been retained." Not surprisingly, the French perceive the multiculturalism movement as eventually denying them improved status. In the province of Québec, the existence of small ethnic groups is frequently seen as aggravating the demographic balance that threatens the survival of the French-Canadian language and culture.

The effects of a new immigrant population are quite evident in the urban centres. What used to be called "Toronto the Good" is now a diverse, cosmopolitan and multiethnic society comprising a wide variety of cultural patterns, languages and lifestyles. The new immigrant Canadians must be accommodated within the school systems and within the social services and employment facilities of the city. Kalbach's (1979) analysis of the occupational categories of immigrants according to ethnicity revealed certain consistent patterns. For example, the cohorts from the U.S. are disproportionately over-represented in all of managerial, entrepreneurial and professional categories; and the Portuguese are over-concentrated in such occupations as farming, construction, fishing, forestry and mining. Other high occupational anomalies occur in the case of South Asians, who tend to be concentrated in the sciences, engineering and mathematics, while immigrants from Hong Kong seem more likely to be in the clerical or service occupations; similarly, the Lebanese are more likely to be in the fabricating, assembly and repair trades. Kalbach concluded that such occupationally selective immigration tends to concentrate immigrants from certain source countries into occupational groups of varying prestige and potential for economic achievement. He questions whether such an immigration policy will contribute to the development of an integrated and harmonious economic and social system.

The key to socioeconomic status and mobility is education. But that is where the principal problem still exists. In a study conducted in 1978 and published in 1980 (Samuda & Crawford, 1980), serious problems were found in the assessment, testing, placement and counselling of ethnic minority students in Ontario. In the first place, the concepts of multiculturalism do not appear to have been implemented in the faculties of education which have been traditionally tied to the assimilationist and ethnocentric theories and practices. The tendency is to view education from archaic assimilationist perspectives derived essentially from the United States and from Britain. Many teachers in the schools of Toronto, and in Ontario as a whole, persist in resisting the multicultural ideal. Responses to our questionnaire indicated their feelings that the best way to deal with minorities was to "culturalize them" through "holding centers" or to provide better screening to ensure easier accommodation into Canadian society. The "melting pot" notion still persists.

The use of psychological tests to place ethnic minority immigrant students into special classes was central to the research project. The reporters found that the school boards of Metropolitan Toronto tended to discourage teachers and counsellors from using standardized IQ tests with ethnic minorities until the individual had attended school in Toronto for two years. There was, however, a lack of articulated policy which frequently left the classroom teacher as the sole arbiter in decisions of placement and curriculum. Yet, it was clear that many of those classroom teachers had never received any kind of special training in dealing with the new Canadian student. English as a Second Language in Toronto was one particular program which appeared to be successfully administered in providing the newly arriving ethnic minority students with the expertise of trained specialists, many of whom are themselves members of the ethnic minority groups. Counselling programs were not merely inadequate; they were almost non-existent – suggesting that counsellors in the Toronto schools had abdicated their role in the case of minorities whom they regarded as clients for the departments of Special Education.

Some of the rhetoric of multiculturalism claims the policy called into being a new society which refused to sacrifice diversity in the name of unity, and which sought to place the ethnic groups of Canada on an equal footing. However, as Porter's classic analysis in *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965) showed, Canadian males of British and Jewish origins have tended to be overrepresented in the high status ranks of professional and financial occupations, while Italian, French, "other European" and the non-white Asians and Blacks tended to be overrepresented at the lower levels of the socioeconomic ladder. Porter's hypothesis is that over time the ethnic groups in Canadian society maintain "entrance status" only, and that this pattern is related to the maintenance of ethnic cohesion. However, later studies (Breton, 1980, p. 367) have shown that inequalities of job status follow inequalities of educational attainment more than inequalities of opportunity for those with the same level of education.

Education, then, is the central issue. Ethnocentric teacher education programs and insufficient emphasis on appropriate curriculum and counselling methods represent the relative failure of the educational system in adapting to a new Canadian school population. The fact that education in Canada is a provincial prerogative makes it difficult for the Multiculturalism Directorate to establish uniform procedures and policies. Moreover, the administrative structure of the federal government places immigration under one Ministry and multiculturalism under another. Yet, multiculturalism represents something far more than the mere expedience of government to offset the French-Canadian threat of separation and to soothe the other aggravated ethnic minorities. Canada is far from an egalitarian mosaic.

The vertical structure of ethnic inequality in educational and occupational opportunities persists. The just society remains a Canadian dream. However, it seems to me that despite its untidy and uneven state of existence, Canadian multiculturalism can become the means by which the anomalies in this society can be corrected. It represents the hope that, sooner or later, we might evolve the kind of social and political system where structural, institutional and personal racism will be *passé*, and where each human being can enjoy opportunities to fulfill his or her potential. It is the kind of ideal which prizes unity in diversity and where differences in ethnicity, language and culture are viewed as differences rather than deviance. I believe it is the ultimate goal and a new order of human relationships – not just for Canada, the United States or Australia – but for our shrinking interrelated global society as we approach a new century.

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Theories of Counselling: A Comparative Analysis

Clemmont E. Vontress

Today, as in the past, people move freely about the face of the earth. Some sojourn to foreign countries for a few days, months, or years; others go abroad to stay for good. Such movement helps to explain the cultural and racial diversity of people in countries such as Canada and the United States. In spite of the heterogeneity of contemporary societies, psychotherapeutic professionals are expected to provide equally competent services to those who need them. In the counselling profession in the United States during the 1960s, this expectation brought into being a sub-specialty, cross-cultural counselling. Two divergent national interests merged to produce the new interest. One was the set problems inherent in educating and counselling racial and ethnic minorities. The other was a concern for international students, whose numbers continued to increase on American campuses.

Although the literature is large on cross-cultural counselling, its main thrust describes the culture of various groups and discusses how cultural differences affect traditional counselling techniques and approaches. However, little attention is devoted to examining existing psychotherapeutic theories or the construction of new theories designed to facilitate cross-cultural helping. The purpose of this chapter is to examine briefly five groups of major counselling theories to determine their usefulness in cross-cultural counselling. The five groups are rational, behavioral, psychoanalytic, perceptual-phenomenological, and existential.

Clemmont E. Vontress, Ph. D., is Professor of Education in Counseling in the Department of Education at George Washington University, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Requirements of a Cross-Cultural Counselling Theory

Counselling theories are systematic statements designed to direct the psychotherapeutic enterprise. They describe the genesis of behavior, the basis of undesirable mood and decorum, and procedures for modifying deportment and states of mind. In order to be useful to cross-cultural counsellors, they ought to explicate as minima (1) the nature of the human condition, (2) the significance of culture on human thought and behavior, (3) what constitutes psychosocial difficulty at home and abroad (or away from one's usual cultural milieu), and (4) the methodology for intervention when clients are from cultures different from that of the counsellor.

Nature of the Human Condition

Although most observers concur that all human beings are part and parcel of nature, they do not agree on the type of rapport which exists between man and what Binswanger (1962, 1963) refers to as the *Umwelt* – the support system for all life. It is important to know the theorist's perception of the human organism's interaction with the organic and inorganic segments of the natural environment (van den Berghe, 1975). What are the effects of geographical setting and its natural resources on people in terms of self-perception and deportment (White, 1975)? Skinner (1953) and Mullahy (1970) indicate that from the moment of birth, the survival and epigenetic development of the human organism is dependent on its interaction and transaction with its environment.

An explication of human innateness becomes useful. Van den Berghe (1975) maintains that all humans are predisposed to manifest the social characteristics of their species at about the same time and in the same manner. If the species is so programmed, then to what extent is human behavior *ipso facto* universal (Fromm, 1976)? A statement about universal biosocial behaviors would assist counsellors in relating to, diagnosing, and intervening on behalf of culturally different clients.

The Question of Culture

Since "cultural differences" are of necessity discussed in cross-cultural psychotherapeutic literature, counselling theorists are expected to elucidate the concept of culture. In so doing, at least four aspects of human conduct need delineation: (1) universal behaviors and processes, (2) behavior specific to a nation, (3) sub-cultures within national boundaries, and (4) the characteristic behavior of a single person. How the first three components interact to produce the human personality needs clear explication. It is important to describe the implicit and explicit assumptions, the visible and invisible variables, and the conscious and unconscious segments of a culture, since all influence individual behavior.

Jung (in Storr, 1973) and Greenwood and Stini (1977) are among the authorities who call attention to cultural universals. According to Jung, the human infant is born with a number of innate predispositions to respond biosocially in predictable ways as required by a developmental timetable. Van den Berghe (1975) points out that all human societies are organized on at least four variables: age, gender, descent, and marriage. In sum, since humans are biologically alike, depending on the exigencies of the immediate natural environment, they vary little in the life-stage modes of environmental adaptation. In making systematic statements about the presence and significance of cultural universals, theorists help cross-cultural counsellors to better understand their culturally different clientele.

In general, culture as a group phenomenon has received most attention in the literature. Individuals tumble into the world as helpless creatures; the human group socializes them; they acquire language, habits, values, religion, assumptions, Weltanschauung, and the essential characteristics of their fellows (Kluckhohn, 1962). Theorists need to specify the differences between culture which is a product of innate predisposition and that which is a result of group implantation. What is the nature of this dual interaction? How important is inter- and intra-socialization? For example, in the United States, it is often assumed that black Americans, although products of the national culture, are necessarily culturally different from their white counterparts. Systematic statements about culture as a three-tiered acquisition from the inheritance of the species and the deliberate indoctrination of both the major group and sub-group would assist counsellors in better understanding the culturally different client.

Definition of Psychosocial Maladaptation

One of the most difficult tasks facing cross-cultural counsellors is an accurate psychosocial assessment of clients. Individuals are socialized to adhere to the demands and expectations of their native group. What is adaptive or maladaptive behavior is defined by the society into which they are born (Christian, 1977). People become so much a part of their culture that they respond to its requirements imperceptibly and unconsciously. However, when they venture outside it they are confronted with the unfamiliar which in turn engenders anxiety and frustration.

Although it is generally agreed that "mental illness" exists in all cultures, important questions remain unresolved (Rychlak, 1981). Should the maladaptation of a sojourner be viewed the same way as that of a native? In what manner should differing cultural views be accommodated? In general, people are expected to maintain a healthy rapport with their peers. What about foreigners in a host country in which their peers reject them because they are racially or culturally different? Should sojourners be classified as psychologically bizarre if they reciprocate and reject their rejectors? These and other questions should be addressed systematically in order to assist cross-cultural counsellors in assessing the psychosocial maladaptation of their clients.

Cross-Cultural Counselling Methodology

How counsellors actually help clients is one of the most confusing aspects of counselling and is reflected as such in the psychotherapeutic literature. Words such as techniques, processes, procedures, skills, tactics, and strategies are often used interchangeably in referring to a partial or complete methodology. How cross-cultural counsellors help clients cannot be separated from their perception of human nature, how people acquire culture, and the definition of what constitutes bizarre or unacceptable behavior.

Methodology, as used here, refers to the way counsellors construct, maintain, and manipulate therapeutic alliances; formulate diagnosis; make recommendations; intervene on behalf of their clients; and follow up on individual and group counselling. Theorists benefit counsellors most by stating methodological propositions designed to guide them in effecting change in clients. Theorists also need to relate methodology to their view of human nature, the process of acquiring culture, and their notion of what triggers maladaptation in individuals in strange cultural settings.

Rational approaches

Rationalism places strong emphasis on the individual as an active thinking and self-determining being. Rational approaches to therapy hold that behavior results as an outcome of the belief system of an individual. That is to say, the thoughts, beliefs, and other conceptual mechanisms are mediators between stimuli and actions. As such, if an individual's behavior is maladaptive, it is because he holds a set of irrational beliefs. Ellis (1962), in discussing eleven irrational ideas which predispose people to neurotic behavior, points out that they are especially endemic to Western societies. Individuals are socialized according to the requirements of their native groups. As a result of socialization, they learn to perceive a culturally-determined reality. Therefore, culture influences the thinking process.

Psychosocial well-being is group related. According to Glasser (1972), personal identity is derived from significant others who satisfy important psychological needs. Ellis (1962) holds that although society is important to people as a cultural entity, it simultaneously can cause psychological misery for individuals who overly adhere to many of its irrational tenets. In the interest of psychological well-being, the individual must resist total submission to the will of the group.

In general, the counselling methodology is highly didactic. Williamson (1950) suggests that counsellors explain, advise, persuade, and teach clients to commit themselves to correct societal values. Glasser (1976) emphasizes the need to re-educate clients to behave in a more responsible and productive way. Ellis (1962) recommends that the counsellor act as a frank counter-propagandist to directly confront and contradict the irrational self-talk and beliefs of the client. He encourages, persuades, cajoles, and commands the client to correct the irrational beliefs that lead to irrational behavior.

In summary, rational psychotherapeutic theories recommend that people individually take charge of, and be responsible for, their lives. Their greatest resource is the power to think, for when they think rationally and logically, they are content and effective in life. In this sense, these theories espouse a highly individualistic approach to life and are distinct from the teachings in many cultures which place group interests above personal aspirations. Attempts, then, to culturally "de-program" sojourners from foreign cultures may do them more harm than good. For example, if they return to their native country culturally "re-programmed," they are apt to be maladjusted. Secondly, there is doubt that host-culture counsellors can teach culturally different clients the correct values of their society, since many cultural beliefs and procedures remain unconscious and undiscernible.

Behaviorism

In general, behaviorists conceive of human beings as passive organisms. Although entering the world as blank slates on which neither good or bad is written, they are eventually stimulated, manipulated, and controlled by their enviornments. Although heredity plays a role in shaping personality, people for the most part are products of life experiences which are positively or negatively reinforced into habits (Milhollan & Forisha, 1972).

Culture is a complex of habits and procedures for living which the group accepts as natural and normal (White, 1975). The acquisition and perpetuation of behaviors result from individuals interacting and responding to natural elements and conditions including their group; and to their own desire to seek pleasure over pain. The group maintains cultural status quo by means of a system of rewards and punishments (Skinner, 1974). Each culture is the totality of the group's habits and actions.

Maladaptive behavior is culture-specific. That is, no behavior *per se* is deviant. The social label is applied by group members who observe violations of social expectations and norms (Higginbotham & Tanaka-Matsumi, 1981). Group censure generally causes conflict, both for the individual offender and the punitive agent or group. The individual seeks to avoid punishment; the group wants to stamp out the undesirable behavior in the interest of its members. Culturally different clients may come into conflict because they remain unaware of the expected behaviors in the unfamiliar environments.

In counselling, the methodology of behavioral change is rather clearcut. Since behavior is seen as response to stimulation, the goal of intervention is to modify the unadaptive stimulus (S-R). The counsellor identifies the maladaptive behavior, the expected norm, and implements procedures for change. Culturally different clients can be taught behaviors that do not conflict with the expectations and demands of the unfamiliar sociocultural environment. Counsellors need to recognize that with clients from cultural backgrounds different from their own the understanding of antecedent conditions, the nature of stimuli, and various responses may be more difficult to assess than with native clients. Deciding what specific techniques will effect change can also be problematic. Since socialization practices and values differ among cultural groups, it seems tenable to expect the effectiveness and delivery of different reinforcers to vary, depending on the client's own specific culture (Skinner, 1974).

Psychoanalytic approaches

Psychoanalytic approaches to counselling and psychotherapy vary considerably in their view of human nature. Psychoanalysis is a psychology centered around conflict. Man is a biologically determined organism plagued by instinctual clashes and struggles with societal forces. According to Jung, humans are storehouses of latent memory traces inherited from their ancestral past, bound up in the racial and evolutionary history of the species (Hall & Lindzey, 1957). Adler held that each person is endowed with a special uniqueness and is motivated more by anticipation for the future than by the memory of past experiences (Rychlak, 1981).

Although culture is not addressed explicitly by Freud or those associated with him, it is nevertheless a significant and pervasive idea in the psychoanalytic tradition. In conceptualizing the super-ego, Freud posited that the group, especially parents, play a universal role in socializing an otherwise asocial creature who is motivated by animal instincts (De Sousa, 1977). Each individual is a product of cultural input and innate imperatives. Adler (1964) pointed out that from birth to death humans are embedded in a cultural network of interpersonal relationships which shape their personalities. Horney (1937), calling attention to the impact of culture on the psychological well-being of people, recognized the wide variations in the degree to which culture engenders frustration.

In general, writers identified with the psychoanalytic group relate individual maladaptation to a localized group. To Freud, society and the general demands of civilzation predispose individuals to a variety of psychological problems (Rychlak, 1981). Jung (in Storr, 1973) indicated that people experience difficulties in interpersonal relations because of distorted inner worlds which they project onto others, who become sources of stressful aggravation. Sullivan (1970) also posited defective interpersonal relations as the basic cause of psychological difficulty. Fromm (1973) pointed out that man's nature, his passions, and anxieties are cultural products. In large part, culture is determined by natural conditions under which people live, forcing them to develop instruments and procedures for dealing with them. It therefore seems tenable to conclude that problems of adaptation vary from one culture to another.

Though psychotherapeutic approaches of psychoanalytically oriented counsellors appear to differ considerably, in general, when applied to clients, they are designed to bring to consciousness the adequate expression of material in the unconscious (Greenson, 1964). Therapists employ indirect methods to examine and connect the past experiences of their clients with the present psychological states and character traits. Often used conjunctively, the methods include transference, dream analysis, and general interpretation. These and other abreactive procedures require therapists to draw upon their own cultural experiences, empathy, intuitions, and theoretical knowledge to arrive at an undersanding of a client's difficulties. Herein lies the major impediment to cross-cultural counselling as seen from a psychoanalytic viewpoint. The human psyche is culturally loaded. Can healers who are not recipients of the same conscious and unconscious cultural loadings as their clients understand the revelations of the latter?

Phenomenology

In the United States, Carl Rogers dominates the school of counselling referred to as phenomenology. An optimist about human nature, he maintains that people are endowed with an innate wisdom which is superior to their intellect (Grummon, 1965). In view of the inherent capacity of man to reason idiosyncratically, individuals should control their own destinies and pursue personal interests in a manner that does not violate the rights of others (Rogers, 1961). When free from defensiveness, people are basically cooperative, constructive, truthworthy, social, realistic, and forward-moving.

Humans are valuing and symbolizing creatures. What they learn to value, and the means used to communicate beliefs, are cultural products. Culture is transmitted perceptibly and imperceptibly from one generation to another. Parents are primary transmitters of the accepted way of life of a people. Basic to their mode of existence are the values endemic to society. They are sensed directly by each person, who is therefore responsible for his or her own behavior (Rychlak, 1981).

Rogers uses the term incongruence to refer to maladaptation in a social context. Maladjusted people suffer from a "split" between what they are and what they think they are or should be. They are in trouble (1) because communication within themselves has broken down, and (2) by extension because communication with others has been damaged. This state of offairs can create a wide range of psychological maladjustment. Relative freedom from inner tension exists when the concept of self is at least partially congruent with the experiences of self (Rychlak, 1981).

According to Rogers (1961), the counsellor is an *alter ego* who creates a therapeutic environment conducive to the client's becoming congruent. The atmosphere consists of empathy, positive regard, unconditionality of positive regard, and counsellor congruence. Client change is initiated by attitudes of the counsellor—not knowledge, theories, or techniques. A client solves his problems by drawing upon the inner resources activated by the counsellor. The psychotherapeutic procedure relies then, on counsellor empathy (Einfühlung) and the inner resources of the client. In cross-cultural counselling, these two requirements would seem to constitute insurmountable impediments. First it is doubtful that counsellors who are cultural products of societies external to their clients' can be effective *alter egos* for them. Second, clients socialized in other-controlled societies are apt to be devoid of the inner resources necessary for the autonomy and self-direction which Rogers (1962) expects. Although client-centered counselling undoubtedly has great appeal to many upper- and middle-class people in democratic societies, it is apt to be perceived as counsellor indifference by individuals from authoritarian societies in which powerful and significant others provide direct assistance to those experiencing difficulty.

Existentialism

As philosophers, existentialists take a holistic view of man. For example, Binswanger (1962, 1963) maintains that people exist simultaneously in three interacting systems: the *Umwelt* (the natural environment), the *Mitwelt* (interpersonal relationships), and the *Eigenwelt* (the self and its private experiences). According to Burton (1974), they are a part of nature. Therefore, their well-being is directly related to the extent to which they are in harmony with it (Rychlak, 1981). Even so, as individuals, people are incomplete for they need others for self-knowledge, protection, and in order to perpetuate the species (Christian, 1977). Finally, each person is locked into a physical organism from which there is no escape so long as life endures. With the body and its various man-made extensions, they are able to experience their own existence.

A basic tension exists between the individual and the group. On the one hand, each person is endowed with a uniqueness which strives for full expression. On the other, the group nurtures and socializes human organisms, providing them with their basic humanity. The group helps new arrivals to learn the roles necessary for functioning during their sojourn on earth. They introduce them to the local culture in which the newcomers necessarily must adapt (Rychlak, 1981). At the same time, as adults, individuals must guard against being completely absorbed by the demands and expectations of the group. People who let others define their existence become inauthentic and self-alienated. Culture is an accident of birth, not a usurper of individual essence.

In general, existentialists take a global view of human adjustment (Bugental, 1965). People are at their best when they are in harmony with nature, their fellow man, and themselves. Those who try to control nature instead of maintaining a symbiotic relationship with it are apt to be disappointed and frustrated (Lowen, 1980). Individuals who attach little or no significance to their membership and responsibility to the human group are subject to an inordinate amount of tension. Yet each person is a unique entity. People who fail to develop their uniqueness or to accept the responsibility for making choices also become inauthentic and self-alienated.

Existential helping is a dynamic philosophic enterprise which is generally devoid of a corpus of techniques (Belkin, 1980). Its most significant therapeutic ingredient is the existential encounter itself. Jourard (1968) points out that the counsellor and client must exist in an I-Thou unity before client change can take place. With such a therapeutic alliance, the interactants are able to explore questions central to the client's existence. For the most part, the exploration takes the form of an interactive dialogue. The goal of existential therapy is a relationship that allows clients to discover their individual uniqueness and to give it full expression. Existential counsellors must concern themselves with the human condition in general before addressing the specifics of the client's culture, because people are more alike than they are dissimilar (Vontress, 1979). This view of human nature puts existential counsellors in good stead for helping culturally different clients.

Conclusions

In this chapter, four criteria have been posited for assessing the utility of the five groups of major psychotherapeutic approaches for use in cross-cultural counselling. The four criteria are (1) the nature of humankind, (2) the question of culture, (3) definition of maladaptive behavior, and (4) a cross-cultural counselling methodology. The five theory groups are rational, behavioral, psychoanalytic, perceptual-phenomenological, and existentialism.

In general, psychological theorists provide only a cursory explication of the nature of man. Of the rationalists only Ellis admits to espousing the teachings of classical scholars such as Epictetus. Even though behaviorists, with the exception of Skinner, generally eschew philosophical considerations, it seems clear that they adhere to a Lockian view of man as a blank slate and give great importance to environmental factors. As evidenced by his concepts and therapeutic procedures, Freud held a biologically and deterministic view of humans. Rogers depicts individuals as being endowed with an innate wisdom. As philosophers, only existentialists present a holistic and universal view of man. For this reason, they, unlike the psychologists, would seem to offer more insight to counsellors seeking to understanding people cross-culturally.

Although cross-cultural counsellors are greatly concerned with the impact of culture on clients, counselling theorists generally fail to address this topic. Ellis addresses it indirectly when he indicates that Western society predisposes people to neurosis. The behaviorists, with the exception of Skinner, fail to treat the subject in a systematic way. Sigmund Freud, in conceptualizing the superego and related ideas, indirectly deals with culture: the superego, as a reflection of the demands and expectations of society, is a constant source of conflict for the individual. Rogers eschews explicit discussion of the topic. The existentialists devote significant attention to human existence in its totality. Their philosophical explications, therefore, would seem to be the most useful for cross-cultural counsellors.

In regard to defining maladaptive behavior, psychological theorists must provide clear conceptions of deviant behavior; however, their explications are culture-specific. For example, Ellis sets forth the eleven irrational ideas endemic to Western societies, which invariably get people into psychological difficulty. The behaviorists generally view undesirable behavior as a result of incorrect or wrong learning. Freud and many of his followers viewed individual maladaptation as a product of inner conflict created by internal and external demands. Rogers uses the concept of incongruence to refer to the personal tension individuals feel when their subjective experiences are not in alignment with objective reality. Existentialists, although diverse in their views, are reluctant to use concepts such as adjustment, maladaptation, and mental health, because they hold that the human condition is not without suffering, tension, and other negatives. Individuals are at their zenith when they strive for harmony with nature, others, and self.

The last criterion is a methodology for cross-cultural counselling. To date, there appears to be no set of theories with methodologies expressly developed for use in cross-cultural counselling. All psychological theories, with the exception of behaviorism, can be classified as insight theories. Counsellors use a variety of techniques designed to get clients to think, feel, and act differently. Behavioral therapists are most interested in getting them to act differently, since they maintain that thinking, feeling, and acting are inseparable. Focusing mainly on their clients as fellow human beings, philosophically-oriented theorists generally disavow interest in techniques. Method follows commitment to individual clients. This orientation would seem to hold the most promise for cross-cultural counsellors.

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Intercultural Counselling and Nonverbal Behavior: An Overview[1]

Aaron Wolfgang

Canada and the United States are historically and presently intercultural and interracial nations. There has been an almost constant flow of immigrants to the United States and Canada since its inception. Canada and the United States were reported to have had a foreign-born population amounting to over 15% and 4% of its total population, respectively (Davis, 1974).

In immigrating to a foreign country it is normally the parents who make the decision; the children are powerless to do anything about it. They come and stay for as long as the parents do, whether they like it or not. They often find themselves in a helpless, unfriendly situation where they are not prepared to deal with the demands of the new school, peers, community and their parents. Within a short period of time these students are expected to speak English fluently, make new friends, learn new ways of behaving as well as new learning and communicating styles. Such a situation with its demands for adaptation frequently results in a great deal of psychological stress both for the students and their family.

One of the designated helpers in the school situation for the immigrant student from an ethnic minority background is the school counsellor. How prepared are school counsellors to help the students from different linguistic, cultural and racial backgrounds cope with the new demands of the school situation? What are some of the essential qualities

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[1] This paper is based in part on a chapter by the author published in Samuda and Woods (1983).

Aaron Wolfgang, Ph. D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Applied Psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and the University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

for being an intercultural counsellor? The focus of this paper will be on the factors which impede or facilitate communication between the school counsellor and the ethnic minority student. An attempt will be made to look at the total communication process, with particular emphasis on the role and impact of nonverbal behavior, and why it is important in an intercultural counselling situation. Additionally, how nonverbal behavior can effectively be used to facilitate the communication process between counsellor and student, and, accordingly, how nonverbal behavior is related to both verbal behavior and culture will be discussed. Among other important issues to be dealt with are the state of counsellor training, counsellor preparation, the desirable qualities of an intercultural counsellor and the state of research and theory in intercultural counselling. Intercultural counselling is defined in the broadest sense as a situation where the counsellor and client are of contrasting cultural backgrounds. In this paper the focus will be on the interaction in a school situation between a counsellor who is typically white, Anglo-Saxon, and the client who comes from an ethnic minority group.

Ways Counsellors Can Cope in the Intercultural Counselling Situation

It seems to me that just as the immigrant students undergo a great deal of stress in attempting to cope with their problem brought on by cultural conflicts, so may the intercultural counsellor also experience some stress in attempting to cope with the problems of being an intercultural counsellor. There are at least three main methods by which counsellors in this situation can cope. First, they can avoid dealing with ethnic minority students' personal, emotional and vocational problems by preoccupying themselves with administrative duties. The counsellor may feel that it is up to the student to adjust and conform to the situation as soon as possible. This type of counsellor prefers to associate with members of his/her own ethnic group and is suspicious of these "foreign" students with "foreign" values, "foreign" nonverbal behaviors and "foreign" life styles. Such a counsellor feels that if these students become Canadianized or Americanized, their problems would be solved. Second, they can try to be like their ethnic minority students by trying to be a "buddy." They can even undermine the teachers or other counsellors by denouncing their values and attitudes to the students. In this situation the counsellors can only alienate themselves from the staff of the school whose support may be needed to help the students. This type of counsellor may also be thought of as being "phony" by the ethnic minority students. In the third instance, the counsellor can try to understand the new students' culture, lifestyle and values. This type of counsellor aspires toward cultural flexibility and is able to shift his/her frame of reference to include cultural and racial differences. This type of counsellor can use the strengths and weaknesses of both the host and original culture to advise the students on how to succeed in a wide variety of social situations. Intercultural counsellors can go through any or every of these stages or remain fixed in one. It is hoped that most of them will aspire to stage three. Embodied in the third way of coping are essential qualities of an effective intercultural counsellor.

Nonverbal Behavior, Language and Culture

The effective intercultural counsellor must be aware of the total communication process. He/she must be sensitized to the fact that communication is both verbal and nonverbal. Nonverbal behavior can be described as behavior that transcends written or spoken words (Harrison, 1974). The study of nonverbal behavior can be divided into 3 areas: proxemics, kinesics and paralinguistics. *Proxemics*, a word coined by Hall (1969), refers to how individuals use space in relation to one another or to objects in the environment. How close individuals stand to one another or arrange objects in the environment has been shown by Hall (1969) and others (Baxter, 1970; Susman & Rosenfeld, 1982; Aiello & Jones, 1971) to be culturally determined. For instance, Susman and Rosenfeld (1982) found that Venezuelans, presumably coming from a high-contact culture, adopted closer conversational distances than did the Japanese (low-contact culture). Americans, on the other hand, who are supposedly a relatively low-contact culture, adopted conversational distances in between those of the other two groups. Willis (1966) found that when whites spoke to blacks, they maintained greater interpersonal distance than when speaking to other whites. In a study by Wolfgang (1980a) it was shown that white Anglo-Saxons kept more social distance from West Indians than from white Anglo-Saxons by displaying facial expressions to reflect fundamental emotions. Social distance has also been shown to be a reflection of attitudes people have toward one another. Hall (1969) noted that interpersonal threat or uneasiness results in increased spatial distance. Several studies have shown that individuals will maintain greater social distance from those identified as having a social stigma or marginal status in society (Wolfgang, 1973a; Wolfgang & Wolfgang, 1971).

The second area of nonverbal behavior is *kinesics*, a term coined by Birdwhistell (1970), which refers to patterns of body movement. The popular term for kinesics is "body language" which includes such behaviors as facial expressions, gestures, posture and head nods. Birdwhistell maintains that body language is culturally determined and has found that no gesture or body motion has the same social meaning in all cultures. Rosenthal and his collaborators (1979) in sampling about 2,300 people outside the continental United States from 20 nations (e.g., Hong Kong, Mexico, Canada), found that individuals from nations that were most culturally and linguistically similar to the United States, (e.g., Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Britain, Ireland), did better on the PONS Test. (This is a test that assesses an individual's ability to correctly identify various nonverbal signals shown in the face, body, and voice of a female from the U.S. culture.) However, the U.S. samples outperformed the English-speaking samples from Britain, Canada etc. on the nonverbal test. This seems to indicate that some of the nonverbal stimuli on the PONS Test were culture specific to the U.S.

Paralinguistics is the third area of study in nonverbal behavior. It refers to the extra-verbal elements that are associated with speech, such as tone of voice, pauses, hesitations, errors in speech and rate of speech. Voice tone, like social distance, can be an indicator of attitude. For instance, it has been reported that in simulated interracial interactions the friendliness of voice tone of whites was related to the friendliness of behavior toward blacks (Weitz, 1972). Crystal (1975) in reviewing paralinguistic effects in cross-cultural studies notes that it is not always easy to see when someone from another culture is being upset or embarrassed. In fact, it is a common reaction to misinterpret the paralanguage of people from other cultures as being rude, sarcastic or embarrassed. For instance, Crystal (1975) notes that in some oriental languages giggling normally reflects embarrassment among adults, whereas in English it may relate to humor.

Nonverbal behavior can be characterized as operating at the unconscious level (Argyle, 1975; Wolfgang, 1975a). Unlike verbal behavior, it is difficult to manipulate since we have little direct training on how to use it effectively. Nonverbal behavior has a greater impact than words, particularly in revealing emotions and attitudes, and in expressing different degrees of warmth or coldness toward others (Gazda, 1973; Mehrabian, 1972). It also plays an important role in identifying the presence and intensity of anxiety (Waxer, 1977), and for communicating empathy, respect and genuineness in the counselling situation (Tepper & Haase, 1978). Nonverbal behavior can replace, modify, clarify and underscore speech. Unlike speech, however, it is more limited in conveying logical, sophisticated or creative ideas. Nonverbal behavior is difficult to interpret because it is more ambiguous than speech; there is no common dictionary where you can look up the meaning of a particular gesture, posture or frown without knowing the social or cultural context in which this behavior occurred. Thus, nonverbal behavior is important, because there is much room for misinterpretating its meaning without knowing the cultural background of the individual.

How is culture related to nonverbal behavior? Culture can be viewed as an organized body of rules concerned with the ways in which individuals communicate, think and behave toward themselves and their environment (Levine, 1973, p. 4). The rules set down in a culture allow for individual differences and some flexibility in behavior. Cultures can be classified in terms of nonverbal behavior such as contact vs. noncontact (Montagu, 1971), monochronic vs. polychronic, or high-context vs. low-context cultures (Hall, 1976). People from monochronic, low-context-oriented cultures like the U.S. and Canada like to deal with only one thing at a time, and one person at a time. They tend not to be very involved with one another, don't expect much from others, resist self-examination, and their messages tend to be explicit with the words carrying most of the information. In contrast, polychronic, high-context-oriented cultures such as in Japan, the Middle East, and Mediterranean and Latin American countries, people are more highly involved with one another and are seldom alone. Interaction in these cultures may occur with several people at a time; people expect to be understood; individuality is minimized at the expense of the group; and less information is contained in the verbal part of the message and more in the social context (Hall, 1976). Culture, like nonverbal behavior, is elusive, subliminal, difficult to erase or control and has a potent influence in intercultural communication.

Montagu (1971) suggests that there may be national, cultural and social class differences in the ways nonverbal behaviors are expressed. Those who speak Anglo-Saxon-derived languages would be more likely to come from a noncontact-oriented culture than those speaking Latin-derived languages. Thus, it would be expected that people from contact-oriented cultures, such as those from Latin America, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Italy, Portugal and Spain, would tend to touch each other more often, gesture more and space themselves closer than Anglo-Saxon British, Americans or Canadians. This behavior might lead to Anglo-Saxons being stereotyped as cold and unemotional (Montagu, 1971). In doing the research for the film "The Italian in Transition" (Wolfgang, 1973b) and "Body Language in the Classroom" (Wolfgang, 1975b) Italian students and their parents complained when being interviewed that English Canadians appeared to be cold and distant people. Individuals interviewed from Portugal also felt that Anglo-Saxons tended to lack warmth, were closed mouthed and distant. Thus, people from different cultures practice nonverbal ethnocentrism. They believe that their nonverbal modes of expression are superior and universal, and that those from cultures different from their own are inferior and inappropriate when looked at from only their cultural perspective. These stereotypes can lead to misunderstanding and tension between groups with different orientations toward interpersonal communications. Montagu (1971) also suggests that the higher the person's social class, the less tactile behavior would be shown in interpersonal situations. This could also be another source of misunderstanding when people of different socio-economic classes interact.

By playing up the importance of nonverbal behavior, I don't mean to minimize the importance of speech; however, our culture is so word-oriented that we tend to forget that there are other important channels of expressive behavior that play an important role in human communication (Wolfgang, 1984a). Counsellors, like others, have been taught in school and in their training that the written and spoken word is supreme. As a result, the impact of nonverbal behavior and its effects on others has been largely ignored.

Nonverbal Behavior Research: Implications for Training and Counsellor-Client Matching

There is an important body of research in the area of nonverbal behavior that has some implications for training and for matching intercultural counsellors and their students. To answer the question of whether there are cultural differences in basic communication between and among blacks and whites, both LaFrance and Mayo (1976) and Erickson (1979) studied listening and speaking behavior. LaFrance and Mayo (1976) discovered through intensive film analysis that gaze behavior among blacks was different than among whites. For example, while speaking blacks tended to look at the listener continuously, while whites looked intermittingly. Erickson (1979) took the research a step further by studying slow-motion analysis of films dealing with listening and speaking behavior between blacks and whites in the interracial job interview and school counselling situation. He found that there were different styles of listening and speaking which could be related to cultural differences between blacks and whites in the timing of kinesic activity (e.g., eye contact, head nods). Erickson discusses how these differences put both groups at odds with one another since white counsellors or interviewers may look as if they are talking down to blacks, and blacks may appear to be not attending to or understanding the white speaker. This type of research has many implications for intercultural counselling. For instance, is there a basic difference in listening and speaking style between white Anglo-Saxon counsellors and Latin or "Hispanic" students? In a research study in Canada, it was discovered that black West Indians (adults and students) were more sensitive and accurate in reading the faces of white Anglo-Saxons displaying the fundamental emotions (e.g., joy, anger, sadness) than even West Indian faces. In contrast, white Canadian-born students made signficantly more errors in identifying the fundamental emotions expressed on West Indian than white Anglo-Saxon faces. These faces were exposed on slides for only one second (Wolfgang, 1980a). In another study, it was shown that West Indian adolescent students living in the West Indies showed more approach behavior toward significant others (e.g., mother, father, teacher, friend) than Canadian-born students (Wolfgang & Weiss, 1980). Furthermore, in a field study it was shown that West Indian students were contact-oriented among peers (Wolfgang, 1980b) and used different nonverbal signals than Canadians for obtaining attention and making eye contact with authority figures (Wolfgang, 1979). These basic differences in the use of eye contact and sensitivity to emotional expressions can create misunderstanding in the intercultural counselling situation if they are not understood by either the counsellor or student.

It seems that we need more basic knowledge of how, for instance, the white Anglo-Saxon intercultural counsellors communicate (e.g., similarities in listening behavior, eye contact etc.), and how their ethnic minority clients communicate in specific social situations. We also need to know how these similarities and differences manifest themselves in producing congruence or incongruence in the counsellor-student interaction. Collett (1971) devised a program to train English students from Oxford to behave like Arab students on several nonverbal dimensions (e.g., eye contact, touching, social distance, smiling) at the appropriate moments during a conversation. In brief, he found that Arab students prefer to be friends or share accommodations with English students who behave most like themselves over those who continued to act like Englishmen. Dabbs (1969) based his experiments on the premise that individuals appear to communicate better when they are more similar to one another. Dabbs had an actor (confederate) interview two students. The actor was instructed to mimic the nonverbal behaviors (e.g., posture, personal mannerisms, gestures) of one and not the other. The ones who were mimicked reported viewing the confederate as more like themselves, one who thought more like them, "identified" more with them, was more persuasive and evaluated them more favorably than the non-mimicked interviewees. This finding was consistent with Collett's results (1971). In a study by Josefowitz reported by Mall (1981) in The Los Angeles Times, she found that executives hire and promote people who look and act like themselves. She concluded that people have a tendency to "clone" one another. Rosenthal et al. (1979) found when individuals were of a similar cultural or language group they could more accurately identify the nonverbal behaviors of a person from that cultural group than individuals from progressively more dissimilar cultural and/or linguistic groups. Erickson (1979), as previously reported, showed that in school counselling and job interviews timing for nonverbal activity (e.g., head nods, eye contact) in listening and speaking behavior was similar among whites and among blacks but was dissimilar between whites and blacks.

In short, these studies suggest that individuals appear to be attracted to each another more when they show similar nonverbal behaviors. Also, the research indicates that individuals are better able to understand the nonverbal behaviors of those from a similar race, culture and linguistic group. These studies underscore the importance of similarity and timing of nonverbal behaviors for good interpersonal communication. It is important for intercultural counsellors to be aware of how differences in nonverbal behavior can obstruct or sabotage the intercultural encounter. However, we cannot look at nonverbal behavior per se as a simple homogeneous variable in attempting to match counsellors and clients. For example, Rokeach, Smith and Evans' (1960) research points up the importance of belief and value congruence over visible characteristics such as race. Thus, nonverbal behavior must be seen in the context of interacting with other variables such as verbal behavior, culture, personality, sex, socio-economic status, age, race, value orientation and the social context. If we keep the complexity of the situation and these variables in mind, we are unlikely to treat the training of intercultural counsellors in a simple-minded way. The key is to see in what situation and with what type of problem these variables become important in the intercultural interaction.

On the basis of the research on nonverbal congruence and the models of belief and value congruence, it is important to look into the possibility of training counsellors to model or be aware of the crucial or critical nonverbal behaviors and value orientations of their clients in intercultural communication situations. For instance, can we train white Anglo-Saxon counsellors to be like West Indians or South Americans? Or train minority counsellors to be like their white Anglo-Saxon clients on certain critical dimensions, similar to what Collett (1971) did? Or use the culture assimilator approach as developed by Fiedler, Mitchell and Triandis (1971)? The culture assimilator is a self-administered program of learning experiences designed to expose members of one culture to such things as some of the basic concepts, attitudes, customs, role perceptions and values of another culture. There have been several assimilators developed (e.g., Arab, Thai, Hondouras, Greek) primarily for individuals working abroad. The authors report that the initial results are promising in that the program has improved the effectiveness and satisfaction of those trained with this method. Perhaps nonverbal assimilators could also be developed. In using training approaches such as the ones mentioned one must be careful not to stereotype the clients into nice neat narrow cultural packages. Programs like this might be directed toward specific intercultural situations such as counselling. The trainer and user may have to continuously modify or adapt these approaches, being sensitive to such things as the client's culture, age, sex, personality, socio-economic class, etc. Keeping these factors in mind, these approaches seem like worthy areas of training and research.

The intercultural counsellor in using any approach might keep in mind Kluckhohn and Murray's (1953) basic principle that in some ways we are all alike (universal), share some common qualities with others (as culture) and in some ways we are like no other persons (individual-unique). In the intercultural counselling situation there are universal qualities binding us together that transcend culture, like the fundamental emotions (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1979; Izard, 1979), as well as having cultural and unique qualities. It is wise for the intercultural counsellor to keep these similarities and differences in mind to avoid undergeneralizations (cultural insensitivity) and overgeneralizations (stereotyping) about their clients. Research, for the most part, has ignored both universal and unique qualities of behavior and focused more on contrasting groups (Sundberg, 1981).

Intercultural Counselling – An Overview

Up to this point the importance of nonverbal behavior in intercultural communication has been underscored. There are other important concerns that also need to be considered in intercultural counselling. For instance, what theoretical guidelines are there to follow to provide a framework for the intercultural counsellor? Does the research in this field help guide the counsellor in what approach or counselling style to use?

Recently there has been a spate of books, government reports and journals devoting special issues to intercultural counselling, (e.g., Atkinson, Morton & Sue, 1979; Bedal, 1977; Marsella & Pedersen, 1981; Pedersen, Draguns, Lonner & Trimble, 1981; Sue, 1977a; Sue, 1981; Samuda & Crawford, 1980). Most of these works were published in the United States. Overall, they deal with a variety of subjects ranging from counselling specific minority groups and research considerations, to training and models for intercultural counselling. The fact that these works were published within the past few years reflects the growing interest and pressing need for information in this field that for too long has been neglected.

Regarding the sophistication and utility of theories and models in intercultural counselling, the fact of the matter is there is no single broad theoretical approach readily available to the intercultural counsellor to guide him/her in dealing with the personal-emotional problems of students. To compound the matter even further, the more traditional, well-developed theories tend to be blind to culture and to the social situation. These theories were developed from experiences with white Anglo-Saxon adults in a therapeutic one-to-one situation. They are quite ethnocentric in that their goals are based on white Anglo-Saxon middle-class values (e.g., talk out problems, come to individual decisions). These theories assume that their approach has universal qualities and can apply to any individual in any culture of any age, sex or social class (Wolfgang, 1975, 1984b).

In recent years, various authors have attempted to counter the ethnocentric approach embedded in traditional counselling theories. They have pointed out how these approaches can have potentially negative effects when counselling goals run counter to the values of the individuals. Some writers have developed mini-models, making specific suggestions on dealing with a specific minority under certain specific conditions. There are a variety of writers who sensitize us to issues in counselling Chinese-Americans (Sue, 1977b, 1981), American

Blacks (Vontress, 1981), Latinos (Ruiz & Padilla, 1979) and Asian-Americans (Kitano & Matsushima, 1981). Although these writers have important things to say about intercultural counselling, none of them have a research foundation on which to base their models and suggestions on counselling specific minority groups. In fact, we might even say that these writers could unwittingly lead us to stereotyping ethnic minorities by not allowing for individual differences.

In the light of the potential hazards in using the Western-based theories and models, what are intercultural counsellors to do for a framework to guide them? Assuming that intercultural counsellors have a working knowledge of theories of counselling and an appreciation for cultural differences, one might suggest that they adopt an eclectic approach. This does not mean that counsellors should unsystematically or randomly adopt techniques or goals from several approaches, but rather that they should develop a consistent systematic and personal approach (Hansen, Warner & Smith, 1980) that is tested and modified on a case-to-case basis. The intercultural counsellor, when using particular counselling strategies or techniques, ought to be sensitive to such things as the client's cultural background, sex, socio-economic status, life style, values, nonverbal behavior and relationships to family, peer groups and to authority figures.

The state of research in intercultural counselling can be summed up in a few words: fragmentary, disjointed, filled with many methodological problems and leaving many crucial questions unanswered (e.g., what is the relationship between cultural variables and outcome in intercultural counselling?). There doesn't seem to be anyone in the field of intercultural counselling that has a systematic research program, who can talk and write about intercultural counselling strategies and techniques as well as propose models. The data base in this field is meager and piecemeal. In fact, one would be hard put to find any body of research that deals with cultural variables during the intercultural counselling encounter. Most of the research comes from the United States, and a trickle from Canada and Britain. What does the research thus far suggest to the intercultural counsellor? Does it provide guidelines?

There is a large body of research in the area of interracial counselling that deals with clients' preferences for the race of the counsellor. The body of knowledge in this area centers mainly around white middle-class counsellors and black students. Presently, there is little research that deals with effects of the Latin or West Indian counsellors on white Anglo-Saxon students. There are examples of studies that show that black students prefer black counsellors and undergo more self-exploration with black counsellors (e.g., Banks, Berenson & Carkhuff, 1967). Atkinson, Maruyama and Matsui (1978) report that Asian-American clients prefer a more directive style of counselling than nondirective, and find Asian-American counsellors more credible and approachable than Caucasian counsellors. Haitians, on the other hand, responded well to client-centered therapy for personal, vocational and social problems (Seligman, 1977). Then, too, there are studies that show the counsellors' race is not a significant variable. Some research showed it was the intrinsic human qualities of the counsellor that were more important than race (e.g., Backner, 1970). Two other studies showed that the degree of self-exploration or counsellor preference was not affected by the race of the counsellor (Greene, 1974; Olivarez, 1975). These are some examples of the contradictory nature of the findings when we look at race as a simple homogeneous variable. Language compatibility was shown to be a critical variable between white high school counsellors and their American black students. In one study (Schumacher, Banikiotes & Banikiotes, 1972) it was shown that white high school counsellors could understand only 15% of the vocabulary words most commonly used by their black students, and that the black students could understand only 50% of the words frequently used by their counsellors. One wonders to what extent this condition exists in the North American schools between immigrant West Indian students who speak Patois or Creole and their white counsellors. This seems to be an area worthy of research.

Considering the present state of affairs, what is the intercultural counsellor to do? First, there are the previously mentioned books and articles that can sensitize the counsellor to ways of avoiding particular counselling approaches with particular clients that prove counter-productive. The counselling situation becomes more hazardous and difficult as the cultural, linguistic, nonverbal, socio-economic and value differences between the counsellor and client increase. In this case, counsellors must be aware of their own cultural values and nonverbal behaviors and how they are either productive or counter-productive with certain ethnic minority groups. The counsellors would then be in a better position to understand the cultural values and nonverbal behaviors of their clients. Once the counsellor knows the range of his communication styles, he/she becomes aware of at least what the client is seeing, and how these factors overlap or run counter to the client's own communication styles. Initially, the task is to establish some synchrony and congruence between the counsellor and client. This is only possible if counsellors are willing to shift their cultural frame of reference, accept differences and overcome their ethnocentric tendencies (i.e., judge the client in terms of his/her standards). The importance of sharing similar frames of reference, similar cultural experiences and overcoming ethnocentrism is underscored by Szalay (1981) in his process model of intercultural communication.

The intercultural counsellor may need some help from the school boards, universities, the state and federal governments. They could help by providing training facilities, research, resource materials and time off for professional development. The well-trained and sensitive intercultural counsellor can develop preventative programs by offering special tips for teachers in dealing with the common problems of their ethnic minority students. The counsellor can also help create a positive atmosphere in the multicultural school by developing orientation programs, cultural appreciation courses and communication labs for the ethnic minority students to help them master their new environment and to feel positive about their cultural or racial identity.

Conclusion

The intercultural counsellor of the 1980s must be a resourceful, risk-taking and imaginative person when considering the state of affairs in this field. The same could be said for the ethnic minority students entering an urban school and community in which the socio-political climate is far from optimal for fostering personal growth, self-worth and academic achievement. What has been said about the role and impact of nonverbal behavior in intercultural counselling can be applied to teachers and educators in general in an intercultural environment. Although nonverbal behavior has been shown to be a very silent language, it is also a very powerful language in intercultural communication. It is a languge that educators must be aware of, sensitive to, and know how to use together with verbal language to be effective intercultural communicators in and outside the school environment.

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Nonverbal Aspects of Intercultural Counselling: Interpersonal Issues

Peter H. Waxer

Literature focusing on nonverbal aspects of counselling in the North American context is currently quite modest in comparison to other therapy literature. As slim as this body of knowledge is, literature focused directly on the nonverbal aspects of cross-cultural counselling is even more embryonic in form. Much of this literature derives from clinical reports or anthropological and sociological observations as opposed to conventional psychological experimental investigation. Yet the need for a firm body of findings in this area is acknowledged as crucial by major thinkers in the field of cross-cultural counselling. Ivey (1981) comments:

> The nonverbal language of the interview can be as important as verbal content and even override it in importance.

Similarly, Sue (1981b, p. 27) concludes:

> For effective counselling to occur, the counsellor and client must be able to *appropriately* and *accurately send* and *receive* both *verbal* and *nonverbal* messages.

What are these problematic nonverbal factors influencing cross-cultural counselling? Scanning the cross-cultural literature, I observe two major dimensions operative in this context. First, there are nonverbal variables having direct impact upon the interpersonal relationships in cross-cultural counselling. Secondly, there are higher-order interper-

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Peter H. Waxer, Ph. D., is Associate Professor in Psychology in the Counselling and Development Centre of York University, Downsview, Ontario, and Chief Psychologist for the York-Finch General Hospital, Ontario, Canada.

sonal variables operative on many levels, but possessing a powerful nonverbal component.

The first set of nonverbal variables considered here include

1. Physical appearance
2. Proxemics
3. Touch
4. Olfactory Issues
5. Gaze Behaviour
6. Cultural Definitions of Time
7. Communication Conventions.

The second set of interpersonal factors to be discussed include

1. Client expectations and preferences
2. Homophily
3. Status
4. Credibility.

In the following discussions for each of the above areas, the reader is asked to keep in mind the limitations of this literature. Draguns (1981, p. 17), commenting on the current status of cross-cultural research in general, eloquently describes a condition that applies even more so in the restricted focus of nonverbal cross-cultural issues:

> First and foremost, this is a field in which the disproportion of writings to findings is high. The problems of doing psychotherapy and counselling research across cultural lines are forbidding. It is, therefore, not surprising that little research has been done . . . We are, in this area, still at a prequantification, premethodological stage.

With this proviso in mind, readers can decide how well the picture emerging from the literature fits with their own clinical experiences. Perhaps the best way in which to view this literature is to see it as a rich, if not scientifically precise, source for experimental hypotheses.

Physical Appearance

There exists a basic and implistic truism operative in cross-cultural counselling, namely, that cross-cultural therapy by definition transpires between individuals of markedly different nonverbal constellations, difference being due race, costume, cultural display rules. For example Blubaugh and Pennington (1976, p. 70) suggest: "Skin colour has . . . become one of the greatest interfering symbols in interracial communication."

Physical appearance can operate as a two-edged sword in the counselling context. Cross-cultural research suggests that clients prefer counsellors of similar appearance and background (e.g., Sladen 1982; Harrison 1975). At the same time, similar appearance may act as a therapeutic decrement. Sue (1981b, p. 134) reports the following incident:

> Janet suspected that she had been assigned a Chinese therapist because of her own race. When confronted with this fact, Janet expressed scorn for "anything which reminds me of Chinese." Apparently, she felt very hostile towards Chinese customs and especially the Chinese male, whom she described as introverted, passive and sexually unattractive.

Obiously this student had based her reaction on the therapist's looks rather than any accurate information about him as an individual.

Proxemics

Proxemics refers to the nonverbal information conveyed by how we stand in relation to one another. Research suggests in general that we establish closer proximity with people from whom we seek approval and maintain greater distance from those toward whom we feel dislike, distrust, apprehension or disdain (Dodd, 1982). Clinical researchers in North America frequently cite one meter (39 inches) as the optimal distance between client and counsellor (e.g., Lee, Zingle, Patterson, Ivey & Haase, 1976). There is substantial ethological research suggesting, however, that this "optimal distance" varies considerably from culture to culture. Latin American (Hall, 1973), Semitic (Watson, 1972) and Mediterranean European cultures (Argyle, 1967) have all been cited as peoples employing much closer interpersonal distances. Just how close is close? Yousef and Briggs (1975) report that in Middle Eastern countries being close enough to breath on your conversational partner is considered to be correct interpersonal distances. In cross-cultural counselling the most immediate problem posed by the interaction of two different cultures distance rules is just which set of rules is observed. As Dodd (1982, p. 235) observes:

> . . . when two persons with different ethnicity interact, they experience discomfort because they do not know the proximic rules from the other person's subculture.

Research in this area provides support for Dodd's observations. Erickson (1975) reports more "proximic stability," less fluctuation of distances, during conversations between members of the same ethnic group (i.e., American Black with Black, American Polish with Polish). There was much greater ambiguity in this area when a Black was in conversation with a Pole.

Such ambiguity centered on proxemics in the counselling context is most frequently focussed on the formal seating arrangements of the counselling setting. Padilla (1981), for example, suggests that chairs in the therapy setting should be placed closer for Hispanic as opposed to Anglo clients. He states: "A distance less than two feet is preferred by many Hispanics" (p. 219). In a similar vein, the North American assumption that one can be encouraged to relax in a conversation by sitting across from you and joining in "putting your feet up on the table" would be potentially catastrophic if your client was from Indonesia. Dodd (1982, p. 220) relays:

> In Indonesia . . . great care must be taken not to "point" the soles of your shoes or feet toward the other person. Such behaviour is offensive, for the gesture, no matter how innocently intended, indicates that you consider that person beneath you.

Touch

A logical extension of proxemics is the phenomenon that frequently arises in close proxemic situations, touch. Cultures identified as proxemically close are also characterized as touching cultures. Thus, Hoffer and Santos (1980) report that it is Hispanic convention to hold a conversational partner's forearm while trying to "hold their attention" in conversation. They report the occurrence of a cross-cultural counselling incident between a male Chicano therapist and Anglo female client where the therapist lapsed into Hispanic conversational conventions, holding on to his client's arm while trying to make a conversational point. The client later relayed never "hearing" the point, being so disconcerted with the therapist's touching behaviour.

In contrast, Kunihiro (1980) notes the general absence of touch between strangers or even acquaintances in public settings in Japanese culture. Research in Europe characterizes Arab, Jewish, Eastern European and Mediterranean cultures as "touching cultures," while German, English and northern Europeans as more usually designated as infrequent touchers (Mehrabian, 1981; Scheflen, 1972; Montagu, 1971).

Olfactory Issues

E.T. Hall (1971) points to the olfactory sense as a highly significant factor in cultural interaction. Other cultures frequently have less concern about issues such as body odour in comparison to our "squeaky clean" North American culture with its Puritan roots. Dodd (1982, p. 238) poses the example of contrasting two cultures, New Guinean and Ghanaian on this dimension:

> Highlanders of New Guinea saturate their bodies with mud and pig grease and hardly ever bathe. Compare that situation with a Ghanaian who typically bathes once or twice a day and imagine the intercultural barriers between these two engendered by the one variable, smell.

Doty (1981) in his review of olfactory communication in humans speaks to the generally unrecognized potency of smell as a nonverbal communicator in interpersonal communication. He notes that humans can detect individuality (i.e., identify a given person), can recognize gender and reproductive state solely on the basis of olfactory cues. Such basic communication dimensions must play pertinent, if not yet experimentally delineated, roles in the cross-cultural context.

Gaze Behaviour

North American cultural values regarding gaze behaviour are reflected in our aphorisms. We are all familiar with the sentiment "I like a person who looks me straight in the eye," or its converse "I don't trust that shifty-eyed fellow." Beebee (1974) reports that, in fact, a person's credibility for North American raters increased with increased eye contact. There are studies, once again based on North American populations, that suggest that significant deviations from normal gaze patterns are associated with pathological states (e.g., Ellsworth & Ludwig, 1972; Waxer, 1974, 1977). In contrast there are now available a number of cross-cultural studies on gaze behaviour that echo the cultural differences already discussed for other nonverbal cue areas. Knapp (1972), Kendon (1967) and Hall (1971) have all discussed aspects of differences in Black American gaze patterns as opposed to Anglo-Americans. Findings suggest that Black Americans employ greater eye contact than whites when speaking, and engage in significantly less eye contact when listening. This has led whites to the sometimes inappropriate conclusion that their Black conversational partner was not paying attention.

As Sue (1981b) points out, "In Black culture, it is often assumed that being in the same room or in close proximity to another person is enough to indicate attentiveness" (p. 42). Wolfgang (1981, p. 16) notes:

> Avoidance of direct eye contact in relation to authority figures as counsellors has been reported to be found in many West African cultures and practiced by many Black Americans, Chicanos, Native Americans and Puerto Ricans.

It is obviously hazardous to employ standard North American conventions for gaze behaviour in the cross-cultural counselling context without some consideration of the display rules observed by the culturally different client. What may pass for rude, inattentive, hostile or even shy gaze behaviour in the one context may actually be a sign of deferential respect in the other.

Cultural Definitions of Time

Next to our obsession with cleanliness, members of other cultures frequently point to North Americans over-concern with time. "Time is money," "Show respect – be on time," "I'm sorry, I don't have the time right now," all echo our preoccupation with time. Dodd (1981) notes in general that North Americans view time as a commodity to be used, saved, spent or in some way exploited. Black Americans coming from cultures with different values for time and forced through the oppressions of slavery to accommodate to this view of time have learned to utilize time as a weapon of protest. Blubaugh and Pennington (1976, p. 73) make the following interesting observation:

> We have observed how time has been used by Black Americans . . . to protest against those in control . . . Historically, because they were denied verbal input into the affairs of the system, using time as a nonverbal communication became particularly important to Blacks. Since promptness indicates compliance and agreement the system, coming late becomes a means of defiance. If the other person with whom one is involved is perceived as being more powerful, using time in unconventional ways is often an attempt to equalize power differences.

Black Americans, tied to the dominant white culture, may use time in this confrontational fashion; however, the cross-cultural counsellor must be careful to not necessarily give the same interpretation to the tardiness of members of other cultures. Dodd (1981) notes that a 45-minute wait is not unusual for a business appointment in Latin America. Porter (1972) notes the Sioux Indian language has no word or term to define concepts such as "being late" or "waiting." Other cultures have various ways of dealing with divergent concepts for time. When I was in Italy, I became accustomed to many Italian friends asking whether the time chosen for a get-together was "l'ora inglese" (English time) or "l'ora italiana" (Italian time), with the inherent understanding that English time was "on time" and Italian time was "in good time." As a cross-cultural counsellor, one must constantly remain aware of varying time perspectives. North American therapists conventionally view a client's tardiness as symptomatic of resistance, hostility or even more pronounced pathology. Members of other cultures, as we have seen above, do not necessarily hold to such views.

Communication Conventions

In discussing communication conventions, we extend the range of nonverbal behaviour to include the interplay of verbal and nonverbal factors. Two issues emerge in this area as particularly relevant to cross-cultural communication: cultural differences in the utilization of silences in speech and the paralinguistic cue of voice volume. A third nonverbal factor in conversation is related hand gestures.

Sue (1981b) cites Dubin's (1973) research on North Americans' interpretation of silence in conversation. Dubin notes that North Americans characteristically feel uncomfortable with silent periods in conversation, most frequently interpreting this nonverbal cue as a signal for them to renew talking to "fill up the silence." Other cultures have markedly different uses for silence. Hall (1966) argues both the English and Arabs use silence for privacy, while Russians, French and Spanish interpret silence as connoting agreement among parties. Sue and Sue (1972) suggest silence is traditionally a sign of respect for elders in Chinese society. Sue (1981b, p. 43) further notes:

> . . . Silence by many Chinese and Japanese is not a floor-yielding signal inviting others to pick up the conversation. Rather it may indicate a desire to continue speaking after making a particular point. Oftentimes, a silence is a sign of politeness and respect rather than a lack of desire to continue speaking.

Other cultures share the Sino-Japanese convention regarding silence, Smutkupt and Barna (1976) suggest that Thais use silence to show respect, agreement or even disagreement when open disagreement would be disrespectful. The paralinguistic cue of voice volume is also open to different cultural interpretations. North Americans value people who speak up to make their point in a forceful assertive manner. Sue (1981b) suggests this speech pattern has earned Americans abroad the reputation of being "boisterous and shameless." Similarly Smutkupt and Barna (1976) report that Thais view speaking softly as an indication of good manners and education. Thus, many Thais, not acquainted with North American conversation convention, feel Americans are constantly angry because they speak so loudly. The converse misperception by North American counsellors is a hazard about which Sue (1981b) warns us. He states: ". . . low volume on the part of clients may be (mis)interpreted as shyness" (p. 43). One must obviously render clinical judgments regarding clients' personal levels of passivity or withdrawal in the light of their cultural conversational rules.

The interplay of speech and manual or facial gestures utilized to augment or embellish speech has had a long history of anthropological and sociological attention (e.g., Hall, 1973). By now, most readers are acquainted with the fact that many Asian cultures employ our palm-downward wave of the hand to signal not "good-bye" but just the opposite, "come here." The implications for cross-cultural counselling are evident: One must be on guard not to misinterpret the wide range or available gestures nor make the ethnocentric assumption that our gestures hold identical interpretation in other cultures. An example might underline the potential hazards in this area. The example has been cited in so many sources, employing so many different cultures (e.g., McCroskey, 1972), that the origins of the event may be apocryphal; nevertheless, the moral of the incident, no matter what the setting, is clear for all to see. My hearing of the incident involved an American businessman in Saudi Arabia (McCroskey cites the tale of an American politician in Latin America). When queried by his Saudi counterpart how he felt business transactions were proceeding, the American circled his thumb and forefinger in the classic North American "OK" sign. Only later was the American to find out why his Saudi contact abruptly rose after this gesture, stormed out of the room indignantly and consequently refused to deal with him: In Saudi Arabia, the "OK" sign constitutes an obscene gesture for a part of human anatomy not usually made reference to in polite international business transactions.

Given the emotionally laden nature of the therapy situation, attention to gesture in the intercultural counselling context appears even more crucial, lest insult be inadvertently added to injury.

To reiterate introductory comments, the following section overviews commonly recognized interpersonal variables possessing nonverbal components. In this discussion there is no intent to diminish the relevance of verbal, attitudinal and cognitive components of such interpersonal variables, but focus and available space will limit the discussion to nonverbal aspects of these variables.

Client Expectations and Preferences

Client expectations and preferences constitute an interpersonal variable with wide-ranging implications. Some obvious initial filters or sortings come into play, even before counselling may occur. One client may prefer a male therapist, another may seek an analytically-oriented counsellor and so on. In the intercultural context, these and other expectations and preferences are operative. As indicated above, only the nonverbally keyed aspects of this variable are presented here.

Yuen and Tinsley (1981) note that most North American counselling systems emphasize client responsibility, openness and exploration coupled with counsellor empathy, warmth and genuineness. In contrast, they note that Asian, African and Iranian students indicate preference for a more directed, authorititative style of counsel, with less emphasis on the nonverbal requirements of a warm, supportive counsellor image.

Padilla (1981) cites three recommendations for counselling Hispanics which all possess a powerful nonverbal preference or expectation component. Padilla suggests that shaking hands and placing an arm on the shoulder of an Hispanic client would facilitate comfort and openness. In some instances, "abrazo" or embrace between client and counsellor is quite in order. Padilla also suggests that chairs in the counselling setting should be closer than for Anglos. As cited above, a distance less than two feet is preferred by many Hispanics. Thirdly, Padilla recommends that a therapist should not attempt to force continued eye contact with Hispanic clients who consistently avoid it. Such a gesture implies that the therapist either fails to respect the client and is invading his visual field, or is engaging in such an invasion in an effort to force client respect of the therapist.

Black Americans have been cited in the literature for showing greater preference for nonverbal channels of communication. Hall (1976), and Willie, Kramer and Brown (1973), suggest that Black Americans feel that nonverbal communication is a more accurate and genuine barometer of one's true feelings and beliefs. Hall (1976) suggests that Blacks are better able to read nonverbal messages than Caucasians and depend less on verbal communication when nonverbal cues can convey the same information. Dodd (1982) notes a Black phrase appropriate to this point: "Don't look at me in that tone of voice."

This style preference appears to extend into the counselling context as well. Berman (1979) notes that Black counsellors employ more of what he labels "active expression skills" (e.g., gesture, emotional reaction, interpretation of events, expression of therapeutic content and directions for therapeutic change). White counsellors were observed to use more attending skills (e.g., reflection, responding with questions).

Issues of expectation and preference can be extensive and sometimes hinge on factors which may appear relatively minor or trivial. One example in the intercultural context might clarify this point. Littrell and Littrell (1982) examined Amerindian and Caucasian students' counsellor preferences based on counsellors' dress and sex (counsellors were Caucasian). Results indicated that both Native and white student preferences varied systematically with the counsellors' sex, apparel, type of concern and ethnic origin of the student. For example, Native female students most preferred female counsellors dressed in stylish apparel.

Homophily

Closely related to the interpersonal variables of preference and expectation is the variable of homophily. Homophily is usually defined as the degree of similarity that exists amongst individuals in their interpersonal perception. Common bases for homophily include shared attitudes, values, personality structure, and common background or experience. All these dimensions have an extensive literature which is not touched on here since these dimensions essentially hinge on verbal, cognitive, attitudinal and belief parameters possessing little if any nonverbal component. There is, however, one major homophily dimension that is primarily determined along nonverbal lines and this is *appearance homophily* (Dodd, 1982). Thus, when studies report that Black students prefer Black counsellors (Banks, Berenson & Carkhuff, 1967; Sladen, 1982) or Asian-American clients find Asian-American counsellors more credible (Atkinson, Maruyama & Matsui, 1978), many homophily variables are operative in these preference choices. However, one of the major and certainly initial bases for clients assuming similarity of outlook by counsellors is the physical characteristics of the counsellor that nonverbally communicates common racial or ethnic origins.

Wolfgang (1981) reports studies that clearly indicate physical homophily extends beyond mere physical appearance alone. After all, continued discussion with ethnic counsellors may reveal that a Black counsellor is "not Black enough" or "an Uncle Tom." An Asian-American counsellor may be accused of being a "banana" – yellow on the outside, white inside. Additional bases for appearance homophily usually extend to ethnically specific displays. Wolfgang (1981) cites the following studies. Collett (1971) trained Oxford students to behave like Arabs on the nonverbal dimensions of eye contact, touching, social distance, smiling etc. at appropriate conversational moments. Collett reports that Arab students preferred (i.e., were friends, shared accommodation) with English students who behaved most like themselves over those who maintained English display rules. In a similar study, Dabbs (1969) asked an actor to interview two students. The actor imitated the nonverbal mannerisms (i.e., posture, gestures etc.) of the one student and did not mimic the second student. Results indicated the imitated student viewed the actor as more like themselves, thought more like them, "identified" more with them, was more persuasive and more positively evaluated in the eyes of the imitated student. This pattern extends, not surprisingly, into the intercultural context.

Rosenthal, Hall, Archer, Dimatteo and Rogers (1979) report that individuals of similar cultural and/or language groups more accurately identify nonverbal behaviours of another person of the same group as opposed to individuals from progressively dissimilar cultural/linguistic groups.

Finally, Erickson (1979) observed that in school counselling and job interviews, appearance of nonverbal behaviour (e.g., head nods, eye contact) in conversation, was similar in Black-Black and White-White dyads but dissimilar between Whites and Blacks. Wolfgang (1981, p. 13) concludes in reviewing these appearance homophily studies that ". . . these studies suggest that individuals appear to like or are attracted to one another more when they show similar nonverbal behaviours."

Status and Age

Interpersonal research cites many status markers, a number of which are nonverbal in operation. One status indicator that has marked cross-cultural differences hinges on the issue of age. Asian, African and Mid-Eastern cultures still uphold age as an indicator of status, much more than North Americans with their youth-oriented culture. Although the status granted the elderly must be validated by demonstrated wisdom, the nonverbal signs of age are the initial unspoken status marker (Dodd, 1982; Sue, 1981b; Yousef & Briggs, 1975). Older clients from such cultures might likely expect more respect, tolerance and patience from a counsellor than the all-too-frequent impatience shown the elderly in American culture. One must keep in mind that in such cultures it is characteristically the elders who function as the "sages" and counsellors for the family or community at large. Eisenstadt (1966, p. 584) underlines this point in his research on immigrants to Israel. Comments of these people clearly indicate the status to the elders of the community:

> In our place, they (old leaders) were really very important and honoured as they knew everything about our tradition, how to arrange things, the right way to behave.

One is reminded that the literal translation of "rabbi" is one who is wise and learned. Similarly a polite epithet for greeting an elder in Mandarin is "Lau Shenshung," old teacher.

Credibility

Studies by researchers such as Hovland, Janis and Kelley (1953), McCroskey (1966), or Berlo, Lemert and Mertz (1969–70) suggest the major dimensions of communicator credibility to be authoritativeness, trust, common orientation, charisma and dynamisma. Interwoven amongst all these dimensions is a major nonverbal component of communication, usually designated as verbal-nonverbal incongruity. Studies in the North American counselling literature by researchers such as Graves and Robinson (1981) or Hill, Siegelman, Gronsky, Sturniolo and Fretz (1981) clearly indicate that counsellors' credibility dramatically suffers when nonverbal behaviours are incongruent with verbal output. There appears to be at least one empirical study examining this issue in an intercultural context.

LaFramboise and Dixon (1981) report that Native American students clearly rated simulated interviews between counsellors and Native students more positively when counsellors enacted trustworthy roles. When counsellors displayed nonverbal behaviours inconsistent with their verbal protestations (e.g., inattentiveness), positive ratings of counsellors dropped dramatically. A clinical incident reported by

Waxer (1983) augments this discussion of verbal-nonverbal incongruity. In discussing a rather transparent *faux pas* of a clinical trainee, Waxer notes this counsellor was talking with a West Indian student. In an effort to facilitate rapport, the trainee used the epithet "Man" in conversing with the client. After each utilization there was an awkward silence, until finally on the third occasion, the client burst out, "Listen Mon, don't Mon me, sitting there in your all-white manner, pretending to be wise in West Indian ways!" The nonverbal image this trainee presented to the West Indian client was obviously incongruent with the verbal usage of "Man" and was deemed irritatingly inappropriate by the client.

Are There Any Cultural Universals?

This chapter has led the reader through a welter of studies, reports and clinical anecdotes, all directed at highlighting cultural differences in nonverbal aspects of interpersonal communication. One could be readily forgiven for concluding that no useful commonalities existed amongst peoples of different cultures. It is therefore appropriate to end this chapter with a modest effort at counter-balancing the weight of studies demonstrating cultural difference. On the other side of the balance, there are some important research findings and theoretical positions that clearly indicate that universals do exist among the peoples of the earth that possess real utility for the intercultural counsellor.

Display of Basic Emotions

The reader may have noticed in the discussion of nonverbal variables, the general absence of discussion regarding facial expression. The absence reflects the decision that this material best be outlined in this section. The issue of whether nonverbal display of emotion is culturally universal or specific is a hoary old chestnut in the literature, with earlier literature full of conflicting reports. For example, St. Martin (1976) argues that no meaningful uniformity for identifying emotions existed across cultures, while Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1979) argued the universality of the smile. Some synthesis does appear in the literature; Ekman (1973, 1975) has come to a position based on empirical findings that accommodates the relativist and universalist positions. Briefly, Ekman argues that man's basic emotions (i.e., fear, anger, sorrow, joy, disgust, surprise) have nonverbal display constellations which are universally recognizable, however each and every culture possesses "display rules" (Ekman, 1973) that determine when and if such emotions may occur and in some instances be acknowledged by the viewer. Izard & Izard (1980) have formulated a theoretical position akin to Ekman in which they suggests that expressions of emotions are a form of "transcultural language" with strong cultural universality. Izard & Izard (1980, p. 260) suggest:

> The basic postulate is this: the similarity between personality and sociocultural phenomena will increase, the more the phenomena are simple, direct functions of one of the fundamental emotions.

A second issue regarding cultural universals that is important to note deals with factors other than homophily which influence counsellor selection. This chapter has cited many studies which clearly indicate that clients can and do seek counsellors of like ethnic origin and cultural background. However, it would be too simplistic to argue a common genetic or geographic ancestry to be the only meaningful basis for counsellor selection. There are now a growing number of studies available that indicate clients select counsellors cross-culturally on a number of variables, some of which have nonverbal components. Porche and Banikiotes (1982) surveyed racial and attitudinal factors affecting perception of counsellors by Black American adolescents. These researchers found that both male and female Black adolescents perceived attitudinal rather than racial information as more crucial in determining counsellor selection. As reviewed above, LaFramboise and Dixon (1981) report trustworthiness (in large part conveyed by verbal-nonverbal congruity) as a major counsellor selection criterion for Native Americans. In his review of this issue, Sue (1981a) notes that type of issue (Johnson, 1977), sex of counsellor (Bryson, Bardo & Johnson, 1975), counsellor experience (Cimbolic, 1972) and counsellor style (Peoples & Dell, 1975) may all be variables more important than race in the selection of a cross-cultural counsellor.

Concluding Observations

Canadian universities reflect the changing Canadian mosaic in the emergence of sons and daughters of recent immigration populations. In addition, international students are currently attracted to Canadian educational institutions in increasing numbers. The role of the intercultural counsellor is becoming less and less an esoteric specialization area and more and more a mainstream requirement in Canada's contemporary society. We now have both incentive and need for further sophistication of skills in this area. This chapter's discussion of nonverbal aspects of interpersonal communication hopefully indicates some of the complexities and intricacies of just this one area of interaction. The usual statements regarding the need for much further empirical research are in order, perhaps more so in Canadian culture than elsewhere. Part of our identity as Canadians is to promote the richness and diversity of our different heritages; we do not subscribe to the American theory of the "melting pot." If we are to honestly uphold this identity value, there will be increasing demands for expanded intercultural sophistication and awareness of our differences. A basic starting point for all of us is the fundamental observation of the nonverbal differences between us. Without the need for a single word to be spoken, there is much to be learned from observing the gestures, expressions, apparel and emotional reactions that everyone on this planet possesses.

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PART II

Comparative Models and Perspectives from Multicultural Countries

PART II

Introduction

Part II provides a broad panorama against which to view the state and progress of intercultural counselling in its global dimensions. Paul Pedersen's analysis of developments in the United States demonstrates the highly political trends of intercultural counselling in that country. He shows that intercultural relationships have been highly controversial during the recent years, resulting in the political power-oriented perspective becoming more visible than the cross-cultural interactional perspective. Pedersen contends that counsellors and therapists have frequently been the instruments for the containment of the controversy resulting from attempts to assimilate and isolate culturally different groups.

G.K. Verma's chapter summarizes the main trends and concepts of intercultural counselling within the British context. He demonstrates that, although the implications of the multicultural reality has only recently become an area of serious concern, the issues and problems are remarkably similar to those encountered in the North American milieu.

The paper by Wolf-Rüdiger Minsel and Wolfgang Herff focuses on the dilemma of the West German government to cope with the aftermath of the "Gastarbeiter" immigration policy. They provide us with insights into the problem by outlining the historical developments leading to the large numbers of ethnic minority groups presently resident in the Federal Republic of Germany. Minsel and Herff show that of the almost five million foreigners presently residing in West Germany a large proportion of these are guest-workers or the relatives of guest-workers who represent a completely new demographic element in the country. The authors then proceed to outline the programs and procedures employed in the attempt to cope with the expanding need for sevices among the various classes of immigrants. They conclude by summarizing some of the trends and suggestions for ameliorating the plight of the immigrant clientèle.

Australia is one of the major centres for the permanent settlement of immigrants, and the paper by Ronald Taft, Australia's leading authority in the field of cross-cultural psychology, provides us with a unique opportunity to understand the changes that have taken place in that country in recent years. Taft's paper focusses on a historical outline of attitudes towards immigrants. The author also provides an overview of the attitudes of Australians to multiculturalism and summarizes the ways in they have come to accept the fact of a new Australian immigrant population and to develop more tolerant attitudes towards cultural diversity.

Intercultural Counselling: U.S. Perspectives

Paul B. Pedersen

The intercultural counsellor faces a modern dilemma in the U.S. Sensitivity to cultural variables is recognized as valuable and even ethically essential for appropriate mental health services – and yet the dangers of cultural encapsulation are more serious now than at any time in history. There is a need to resolve this dilemma in a way that will reflect and respect more than one perspective (Pedersen & Marsella, 1983).

Ethnocultural Representation in Counselling and Therapy

There is increased pressure in the U.S. for the fields of counselling and therapy to acknowledge the importance of the consumer's cultural environment. The National Institute of Mental Health (Fields, 1979), the American Psychological Association (Korman, 1974), the American Psychological Association Council of Representatives (APA, 1979), and the recent Presidential Commission on Mental Health (Fields, 1979) have all emphasized the ethical responsibility of counsellors and therapists to know their client's cultural values before delivering a mental health service to those clients.

The Vail conference (Korman, 1974) on levels and patterns of professional training in psychology in 1973 gave visibility to cross-cultural

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Paul B. Pedersen, Ph. D., is Professor and Chairman of the Department of Counseling and Guidance in the School of Education at the University of Syracuse, Syracuse, New York, U.S.A.

issues in counselling and therapy. The Dulles Conference in 1978 allowed mental health providers from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds to work out guidelines for cooperation and some sense of consensus which resulted in a Minority Affairs Office in APA. By 1979 the APA accrediation criteria demanded cultural diversity among faculty and students in APA approved programs of counselling and clinical psychology. Casas (in press) suggests several reasons for this recent increased interest and concern for racial/ethnic minority groups in the U.S. First, there is a pragmatic understanding and acceptance of demographic changes and socioeconomic political events which have given cultural minority groups more power. Second, many minorities such as Blacks, Hispanic and Asian-Americans are demographically visible. Third, the civil rights movement has led to legislation favoring legal rights of minority groups. And fourth, there are economic incentives for white counsellors and therapists to attract non-white counsellors.

On the other hand, the rhetoric of support for intercultural issues in counselling and therapy has not been reflected in the data First of all, racial ethnic minorities are under-represented in clinical and counselling psychology. Second, this under-representation is particularly high in applied and academic settings. Third, racial/ethnic minority persons are most represented in the lower and less influential ranks (Casas, in press). Finally, publications and professional presentations about culturally different perspectives are under-represented in the primary professional journals as well as in the annual programs of the American Psychological Association.

Lee, Trimble, Cvetkovich and Lonner (1981) analyzed APA program contents of the 1960, 1970 and 1980 APA convention programs and discovered that program titles related to ethnic groups or cultural differences were consistently about 3 percent of the program offerings for any of the APA divisions, including Clinical (Division 12) and Counselling (Division 17) Psychology. In a replication of this methodology Inouye and Pedersen (1983) analyzed the APA convention programs and program supplements from 1977 to 1982. The content of APA convention program offerings, as described by their titles, was assumed to reflect the level of interest in cultural and ethnic issues by the APA. Program titles dealing with general topics relating to culture and ethnicity, those focusing on the nationalities of the world, or those examining the various racial and ethnic minority groups in the U.S. were tabulated in terms of their proportion of actual program times allocated to each APA division according to evenly divided shares of time for each event.

In comparing the hours allocated from 1977 to 1982 for cultural and ethnic content, the overall average of 4.7% hours allocated by Division 17 (Counselling), and the 2.9% overall average percentage of hours allocated by Division 12 (Clinical), it becomes clear that ethnic and cultural content is extremely under-represented in the APA program. The 1977 – 1982 average percentage allocated by all APA divisions was 5%. Although counselling and psychology provided proportionatly slightly more time to cultural and ethnic programs than clinical psychology, both divisions were somewhat less than the ration of ethnic and cultural content across all APA divisions.

Russo, Olmedo, Stapp and Fulcher (1981) surveyed the representation of racial/ethnic minority groups and women among psychologists generally. By examining the data related to clinical and counselling psychologists it can be determined that ethnic minorities and women are seriously under-represented at all levels and especially under-represented at the more professionally advanced levels of psychology.

The data on faculty in U.S. graduate departments of psychology are classified by gender and race/ethnicity. The 1,571 "white" faculty, and especially the 1,258 white male faculty, greatly outnumber the 110 minorities as well as the 347 women in clinical psychology. Likewise, the 598 white faculty and especially the 467 white male faculty greatly outnumber the 52 minorities as well as the 152 women in counselling psychology.

There are many other studies that document how American Indians, Asian-Americans, Blacks and Hispanics are seriously underrepresented as both students and faculty in clinical and counselling psychology programs (Kennedy & Wagner, 1979). Although the minority students may be proportionately increasing in numbers (Kennedy & Wagner, 1979; Banikiotes, 1977), other data suggests that minority admissions have already peaked and are in fact decreasing (Smith, 1982; Super, 1977). Atkinson, Morton and Sue (1983) document in data from 305 Counsellor Education programs that ethnic minorities are less under-represented as students than as faculty members. This would suggest that some progress is being made toward greater minority representation in counselling and clinical psychology.

Still one more indication of under-representation is documented by Sundberg (1981) in this tabulation of APA research journals from 1975 through 1979. The four APA journals most likely to have reports on counselling and therapy – with one to three percent of the articles giving some indication of cultural or ethnic materials – were the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, the *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psy-*

chology, the *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, and *Professional Psychology*. Most of these articles were reports of programs or reviews, research reports on assessment techniques, or correlational group difference studies unrelated to counselling or therapy. Other journals reporting cross-cultural articles such as the *International Journal of Psychology*, the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, the *Transcultural Psychiatric Research Review*, or the *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* seldom reported studies of counselling or therapy. Casas (in press) indicates that the same general pattern of under-representation applies to journals of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (American Association for Counselling and Development) as well.

The Political Dynamics of Intercultural Contact

To some extent the perspective of counselling and therapy in the U.S. may reflect racial and ethnic relations in the U.S. characterized by heightened group consciousness, government mandated affirmative action in employment and education, court-ordered busing to achieve racial integration in public schools, and demands for bilingual education in public school systems. In examining ethnic/racial relations in the U.S. compared with other cultures, Lambert (1981, p. 189) found the U.S. perspective to be

> unusual compared with other countries in the growing salience of ethnic/racial relations, their bipolarity, their emphasis on hierarchy over cultural contrast, the casting of government in the role of protagonist for the underclass and the ethnic specificity and direction of violence.

The Civil Rights movement of the 1950s resulted in a militancy of minorities for change toward greater equity. The growth of the community Mental Health movement of the 1960s supported equitable services by affirming that mental health care was the right of all citizens and not just the wealthy or middle-class dominant majority (LeVine & Padilla, 1980). The issues of feminism and popular dissent from the anti-Vietnam war movement further promoted a climate of discontent in which protest against inequitable treatment was accepted and even encouraged by the media and general public. This stigma of discrimination became synonymous with any attempt to treat groups differently. Sue (1981) suggests that this obsession with equality might itself be discriminatory. Minority groups may not be asking for equal treatment as much as equal access and opportunity. Differential treatment is not necessarily discriminatory or even preferential. Appropriate mental health sevices are, almost inevitably, differentially defined across cultures.

By the 1970s the under-utilization of mental health services by minority groups had become a serious issue. Behavior described as pathological in a minority culture such as individualistic assertiveness might be viewed as adaptive in a majority culture client (Wilson & Calhoun, 1974; Grier & Cobbs, 1968). Sue (1977) demonstrated that Asian-Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, American Indians and other minority groups terminate counselling significantly earlier than Anglo clients and are diagnosed as more seriously ill. These measures of under-utilization were largely credited to cultural barriers hindering counselling and therapy such as language barriers, class-bound values, and culture bound attitudes. Others (Pedersen, 1982) suggest that minorities might avoid dominant culture mental health services to avoid the erosion of their own values and cultural identity where those services might in fact *increase* acculturative stress among consumers. Casas (in press) concludes that whether or not mental health services are being under-utilized by minorities depends almost entirely on how the data is collected, with a number of studies suggesting that these services are not being under-utilized at all.

In the 1980s the U.S. perspective now includes the large numbers of refugees both from Cuba and the Caribbean as well as from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Initially, there were funds for special services to these culturally different persons, but more recently these former refugees are being served by the regular mental health services. Especially in the Southeast, but elsewhere as well, the rapidly growing Hispanic population is likewise being forced to use the regular mental health services. Our regular mental health services are not prepared to serve these culturally different populations in appropriate ways (Atkinson et al., 1983).

As the roles of counsellors and therapists are more rigidly defined in a cultural context, we tend to isolate ourselves along the lines of a particular cultural bias of institutionalized racism with less and less pretense toward either assimilation or integration of values. This isolationist alternative of the "culturally encapsulated counsellor" (Wrenn, 1962) protects us from social reality by substituting symbiotic stereotypes for the real world, disregarding cultural variations among clients, and dogmatizing a technique oriented definition of counselling process.

From an international perspective, the culturally specific characteristics of counselling and therapy in the U.S. challenge the universality of psychology but not its scientific character. There are alternative cultural assumptions in other cultural settings which do not follow the "American ideal" (Sampson, 1977; Diaz-Guerrero, 1977), or follow the premises of the Protestant Ethic (Rotenberg, 1974; Draguns, 1974) and the other pervasive assumptions of individualism (Hsu, 1972; Pedersen, 1979).

Minorities have been defined in terms of their differences as cultural islands. The term "race" technically refers to biological differences, while ethnicity rightly refers to group classifications of cultural heritage from one generation to another. People of the same ethnic group within the same race might still be culturally different. Other isolating terms such as "culturally deprived" or "culturally disadvantaged," and even the more modern "culturally different" and "culturally distinct," were created to explain why a minority group is different from the majority population (Pedersen, 1981). Minorities are defined as people singled out for unequal and different treatment and who regard themselves as objects of discrimination (Atkinson et al., 1983). Ironically, the concept of equality is frequently diluted to a doctrine of equal opportunity, granting us the equal right to remain unequal as perceived by the minorities, through competing with one another (Dreikurs, 1972). Bryne (1977) has pointed out how the perception of equality has politicized the delivery of mental health services in our domestic social context. Aubrey (1977) has likewise cited the trend in mental health to emphasize normal developmental concerns of individuals from the dominant culture to the exclusion of a special group's concerns in the name of equality.

Jones and Korchin (1982) describe mental health as having two different orientations. On the one hand, mental health is perceived as political, with the basic tenet that mental health as well as social welfare, economic status, political power, personal dignity, and other facets of well-being of minority group members depends on the acquisition of power and control over their personal and collective destinies. On the other hand, there is a cross-cultural perspective of mental health which begins from the assumption that there are indeed differences among groups, each with its own unique tradition.

The Complexity of Social System Variables in Counselling and Therapy

The definitions of culture are increasingly likely to include demographic status and affiliation as well as ethnographic variables of ethnicity and nationality. Kinloch (1979) includes physical, cultural, economic, and behavioral characteristics in his analysis. These special variables function in ways similar to ethnic and nationality variables in the analysis of interaction. Erickson and Shultz (1982, p. 17) introduce the concept of "comembership" to describe the broader perspective of cultural variables and they write:

> Comembership is an aspect of performed social identity that involves particularistic attributes of status shared by the counsellor and student – for example, race and ethnicity, sex, interest in football, graduation from the same high school, acquaintance with the same individual.

Comembership provides a basis for special solidarity between counsellors and clients drawing from the same perspective, using the same language, and sharing the same in-group references. In their analysis of empathy, they demonstrate that co-membership is stronger than either race/ethnicity or social class as a predictor of rapport.

The perspective of pluralism is one that incorporates multiple identities in the definition of culture. Maruyama (1978) describes persons who depend on one authority, one theory, or one truth as victims of monopolarization. Monopolarized persons tend to be trapped in one way of thinking, believing theirs is the universal way. They are trapped in an inflexible structure that resists adaptation to alternative ways of thinking. The alternative is what Maruyama calls "transpection," which goes beyond any single viewpoint to include many complex variables in order to describe an event.

It would be a serious mistake to assume that all members of a particular ethnic group take the same perspective on each issue, problem, or event. The differences of age, gender, life style, socioeconomic status ethnicity, and nationality all influence each individual's cultural perspective. Rather than characterize cultural groups in rigid categories, the U.S. perspective is in need of an alternative framework that combines the many different cultural identities each person presents to the different situations or events being encountered (Dillard, 1983).

Pedersen and Pedersen (in press) have developed a "Cultural Grid" to help identify and describe the cultural aspect of a situation, to help from hypotheses about intercultural differences and provide explanation and then to help train persons for culturally appropriate interaction. The Cultural Grid is an open-ended model that matches social system variables with patterns of behavior, expectation, and value in a "personal cultural orientation" to each event. The Cultural Grid differentiates complex intrapersonal social system variables.

Figure 1

The Cultural Grid

Social System Variables	Cognitive Variables		
	Behavior	Expectation	Value
Ethnographic ethnicitiy nationality			
Demographic age gender			
Status social economic educational			
Affiliation formal non-formal informal			

It is apparent that accurate perception of another person's complex cultural perspective is an important skill for counsellors and therapists in any situation. It is also apparent that every counselling relationship contains an intercultural perspective to a greater or lesser extent. As a training model, the Cultural Grid serves to (1) classify the complex interacting cultural perspective, (2) compare the similarities and differences between two different individuals or the same individual confronting two different events, (3) chart the dynamic changing priorities of social system variables for each individual and each event, (4) combine group variables (social systems) with individual cognitive perspectives (behavior, expectation, and value) into one comprehensive framework, and (5) anticipate patterns of an individual's personal cultural orientation to each event.

In the pluralistic perspective of the Cultural Grid, a cross-cultural conflict is described as a conflict where behaviors are different but where the expectations and the underlying values are the same between individuals or events. Both persons may agree to be friendly, but they do not have an accurate understanding of what friendly behavior is from the other person's perspective. Both persons have the same expectations and values for friendliness, but their behaviors (loud or soft voices, intimate or distant interpersonal styles, which follow from those expectations and values are quite different.

Interpersonal conflict according to the Grid would occur when the behaviors are either the same or different but the expectations and values divergent. When cross-cultural conflict is not appropriately understood, it might quickly evolve into interpersonal conflict where differences in behavior produce differences in expectation and value.

The perspective of pluralism protects us from either overemphasizing or underemphasizing the cultural variables. Overemphasizing cultural variables leads to overgeneralization. The Cultural Grid suggests one framework for combining the range of complex variables which determine behavior and reflect expectations or values in each event and for each individual. It is for this reason that the alternative of pluralism provides a natural synthesis of cultural variables in the U.S. perspective of intercultural counselling.

Conclusion

Culture and mental health research in the U.S. has failed to develop grounded theory based on empirical data for several reasons (Pederson, 1981; Pedersen & Marsella, 1983; Pedersen et al. 1981; Marsella & Pedersen, 1981; Strauss, 1979; King, 1978). First, the emphasis has been on abnormal behavior across cultures with much less attention to normal behavior. Second, it is only in the 1970s that a pancultural core has emerged for the more serious categories of distrubance such as schizophrenia and affective psychoses (Draguns, 1980). Third, the complexity of research on therapy across cultural lines is difficult to manage and is typically ignored in research on counselling and therapy processes (Draguns, 1981). Fourth, the research which is available has lacked an applied emphasis related to the practical concerns of program development, service delivery, and techniques of treatment. Fifth, there has been insufficient interdisciplinary collaboration from psychology, psychaitry, and anthropology among the more directly related disciplines. Sixth, research has emphasized the symptom as a basic variable while neglecting the complex interaction of persons, professional perspectives, institutions, and community.

Pluralistic perspectives are needed that will accommodate the range of differences in the culturally learned assumptions by which each individual interprets each event. The more obvious cultural differences of nationality and ethnicity provide an opportunity to develop multiple perspectives that will increase our accuracy in dealing with the sometimes less obvious differences of age, gender, life style, socioeconomic status, and affiliation. Until the issues of intercultural counselling are seen and described in terms of increasing accuracy for all counselling and therapy, rather than meeting the demands of one or another special interest group, we are unlikely to see more than a token acknowledgement of cultural variables in the definition of mental health professionals.

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Intercultural Counselling: British Perspectives

Gajendra K. Verma

The phrase "intercultural counselling" has a number of conceptualisations depending upon the historical, social and political contexts of the particular society in which it is used. For example, intercultural counselling as a topic is of considerable interest for both theorists and practitioners in America, but has received scant attention in Britain and Europe. It may be argued that the concept is encapsulated in the more loosely used term "multicultural" in the British context. However, the counsellor and client relationship involves such matters as ethnicity, culture, social disadvantage, language, the integration – assimilation – cultural pluralism debate, attitudes and beliefs, and the counsellor's reactions to varieties of individual/group distinctiveness. All these features which impinge upon any discussion of intercultural counselling are found extensively in the American literature, portraying specifically persons of racial and ethnic origins such as the native Indian, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, Black American and others. Furthermore, terms such as culturally deprived, underprivileged and disadvantaged have become commonplace terms with varying meanings. It is apparent that research into, and analysis of, the nature and process of intercultural interactions have centred on categories of individuals who are grouped together, because it is assumed that they have had similar experiences. Such an assumption is naive, as will be seen later in this paper.

At this point it is appropriate to clarify what is signified by the term "counselling." In a broad sense it can be conceived as an interpersonal

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Gajendra K. Verma, Ph. D., is Reader in Intercultural Education and Director of the International Centre for Intercultural Studies at the University of Bradford, Bradford, West Yorkshire, England.

relationship in which one person (the "counsellor") attempts to help another person (the "client") to understand and deal with his/her "problems" in aspects of everyday life. Such aspects include education, careers guidance, occupation, mental health, family relationships and so on. Counselling entails a range of procedures including identifying problems and issues, giving advice and encouragement, providing relevant information about further education or job opportunities. It can be practised by many professions such as teachers, social workers, careers advisers, school psychologists and family doctors. Thus, it can be seen that counselling in an operational sense implies that the client is always at the receiving end and has "problems" of one sort or another.

Counselling within the framework of schooling, usually referred to as "pastoral care" in the British educational system, is designed to help pupils with "problems" which they encounter in their emotional, intellectual, social, vocational and occupational life. It operates both at the individual and group levels in which the teacher, careers adviser, or educational psychologist interacts with pupils to understand and/or advise them.

Traditionally, the whole focus in intercultural counselling is given to the deficiencies of the recipients. It is rarely suggested that the greatest barrier to meaningful interaction in the counselling relationship may be the counsellor's lack of understanding of the socio-psychological and cultural backgrounds of the client. There is evidence to suggest that much of the misunderstanding, distortion and ignorance about the so-called disadvantaged client can be attributed to the limited knowledge on the part of the counsellor about the values of his/her client's environment. For example, if the counsellor has totally assimilated the values of middle-class environment, he/she is deprived of an understanding of the culture and perceptions of many of those he seeks to help. Furthermore, ethnic differences between a counsellor and client can mean several things and can create difficulties. Therefore, any discussion of ethnic minorities as clients must be within a framework of several interrelated factors, such as cultural, socio-economic, school, peer-group and so on.

Turning to the British situation it is important to note that intercultural counselling has recently emerged as an area of concern for social workers, teachers, educationalists and administrators. Moreover, the response of various professions to the existence of multiethnic communities in Britain has been patchy, piecemeal and lacking in sound strategy. Before illuminating some of the issues in intercultural counselling within the British context it seems necessary to recall that the use of the term "intercultural" is sparse. Second, discussion in this paper is centred around teacher-pupil relationships (synonymous with counsellor-client relationships) including the role of careers teacher. Third, reference here to ethnic/cultural groups relates specifically to those post-war immigrants and their children whose presence has generated discussion about the nature of British society.

Issues in Intercultural Counselling

When people from different cultures interact, unanticipated difficulties may, and often do, arise. Writers have explained such difficulties in terms of socio-psychological factors. One of the major reasons would seem to be that individuals from different cultures bring to an intercultural interaction not only different experiences, but also different implicit as well as explicit frameworks for interpreting these experiences.

Because cultures differ in norms and values, the particular occurrence, form and meaning of a situation may vary from one culture to another. It is common experience that sometimes the same behaviour is considered desirable to members of one culture and unpleasant to people from another. Such differences may occur because of the differences in the interpretative framework, and as a result misunderstandings and conflict can then happen. It is also true to say that misunderstandings can occur between individuals belonging to the same cultural group, since many behaviours can be interpreted in a variety of ways. However, they are more likely to happen in intercultural or cross-cultural interactions. Triandis (1975) suggests that problems can arise not only when norms are different between two cultures, but also when the strength of the behaviour is not adjudged the same, that is, when one cultural group has weak norms and another strong norms. According to him one of the major aims of an intercultural programme should be to help individuals understand the perspectives of persons from another culture and to teach them about the others' subjective cultures. Such training should help an individual make the appropriate attributions to observed behaviours of members of the other culture. This should result in increased awareness and understanding of the cultural characteristics which are crucial for successful intercultural interactions.

This paper is concerned with ethnic minorities in Britain who are, in broad group terms, different from the dominant culture in respect of religion, language, ethnicity and other norms. These differences may serve as barriers, to effective counselling unless a sufficient amount of knowledge and understanding is acquired by the counsellor/teacher.

The Need to Take Account of Ethnicity

The total community in Britain has been composed over centuries of many diverse groups with differing social, ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds. However, it is only over the last two decades that Britain has moved slowly and grudgingly to recognise the multiethnic communities. Since the 1950s and throughout the 1960s the increased migration of a variety of ethnic groups, mostly from the New Commonwealth countries in the West Indies, Africa, India, Bangladesh, Southeast Asia and Pakistan, has generated discussion about the changed characteristics of British society. Each of these subgroups relates in different ways to educational, social and cultural life in society. There are even minorities within these minorities because of religious, cultural and linguistic differences.

In particular for New Commonwealth immigrants, coming to Britain involved very substantial changes in environment – changes in the cultural climate and social context of their lives. Adapting to a new culture is not an easy process for any individual, and this often poses problems for immigrants at various levels. Studies have shown that the emigration process, particularly from a developing to a developed country can prove a traumatic experience in the life of an individual. However, over the last decade the debate has shifted from the problems of immigrants to the education of ethnic minority groups in Britain. Interest in identifiable issues both at academic and practical levels is increasing because of their implications for the community as a whole. We have argued elsewhere that the British educational system has failed to understand the legitimate aspirations, expectations and needs of ethnic minority children (Verma & Bagley, 1979).

Efforts to deal with the multiethnic, multicultural nature of British society led to different models and strategies. In the process adjectives such as "multiracial," "multiethnic" and "multicultural," are all used in connection with the educational debate. Each of the terms seems to appeal to a different body of opinion, depending upon the ideological stance of people. Without going into details it is fair to say that it is currently a confused field, characterised by a wide variety of competing and conflicting approaches. The confusion has largely arisen from the fact that there is as yet no unified approach to understanding a complex set of phenomenon; as a result various perspectives appeared, each with its own terminology and concepts (Verma, 1983). Banton (1979) rightly remarked that ". . . classifications are tools and they must be judged by their value in answering questions." However, initially many educators were able to identify counselling needs of immigrant children and children of immigrant parents. It is appropriate to look back upon the aspirations of the 1960s and 1970s and reflect upon the ways in which orientations have changed over the past twenty years.

At first, educational provision was very much ad hoc, and the emphasis was on educational programmes for the acquisition of English. Teachers and schools soon saw, however symbolically and stereotypically, "non-English speaking children" (Asians in particular) as a main problem, and the education system responded with what was regarded as appropriate provision. The principle behind such a strategy was that children from new groups would be assimilated into a relatively homogeneous British society. It cannot be denied that the acquisition of English language and literacy is crucial for ethnic minority children if they are to enjoy equal chances of success both at school and in the world of work. As the scale of the perceived "problem" grew, other measures were adopted in order to deal with the needs of ethnic minority children.

In the early 1970s there began a shift in thinking and policy, away from what is now labelled as the assimilationist approach towards one of "integration." In this strategy the focus in educational provision moved toward the design of programmes intended to promote unity while allowing for diversity. The aim was to seek to meet the "special needs" of ethnic minority children within the framework of the British educational system. Research and analysis conducted during this period show that education of ethnic minority pupils was perceived as "problem orientated" (Verma & Bagley, 1975, 1979). The integrationist approach has not been without its critics, who have described it of being a subtle form of racism directed at cultures and life styles which provided a challenge to traditional British practices and beliefs. However, the ability to tolerate this diversity necessitated that teachers, careers officers and social workers should develop an awareness of some form of cultural pluralism as the goal of education. Unfortunately, many teacher-training institutions have not yet felt the need to redesign their curriculum in order to provide an insight into the cultures of minority groups now living in Britain. In order to minimise intercultural difficulties, teachers should be given the opportunity to understand the social, religious, linguistic and cultural diversity of ethnic minority groups. Stenhouse (1975) rightly comments:

> The teacher should be an example of a person critical of prejudiced attitudes and opinions held by himself and by society at large and trying to achieve some degree of mutual understanding and respect between identifiably different human groups.

It is now fairly well recognised that teachers' attitudes and expectations significantly influence the ability and performance of pupils (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Nash, 1973). This is perhaps even more so in the case of pupils from ethnic minority groups who are often stereotyped as being different and to some extent inferior, which in turn influence teachers' attitudes and behaviour towards them. On the other hand, culture and ethnicity are often ignored – perhaps deliberately – by some teachers who insist on imposing values of the dominant culture on all children.

In the 1980s the philosophy of cultural pluralism, meaning the coexistence of various life styles and social norms, is in fashion. This model regards each ethnic groups as having opportunity to develop and retain its distinct culture and traditions within the framework of the larger society. It should be mentioned that in order to achieve the aim of cultural pluralism efforts must be made to influence the attitudes of counsellors, teachers, social workers and pupils. There is evidence to show that current practices on the part of many professional groups encourage negative attitudes toward ethnic minorities and promote unhealthy ethnic relations. Research has consistently demonstrated that ethnic minorities, Asians and West Indians in particular, suffer from multiple disadvantages in British society. Studies have also alleged that Asian youngsters often "over-aspire" and "under-achieve," and both these factors have been ascribed to cultural factors – a kind of caste-dominated response to manual jobs. On the basis of our research, it is possible to question the role and efficacy of careers education within the British educational system. Many careers teachers and officers devote their time to persuading ethnic minority children from an early age to downgrade their vocational expectations. In many cases, some adjustment of vocational choices is performed by only partially trained careers teachers in British schools (Verma, 1983). To prevent a "cycle of deprivation" – that is, the transmission of disadvantages from immigrants to their children – it is necessary that careers advice to different groups is appropriate and must serve as an instrument of change in a child's view of himself. Teachers and counsellors must be challenged to ascertain that development of accurate, realistic conceptions of "self" is one of the major functions in the learning process.

The Race Issue

As outlined earlier various concepts and ideas are used to describe and account for the difference among human behaviours. The least useful concept is that of "race." Moreover, it is difficult and controversial. Its use is often overgeneralised in ways which serve to reinforce traditional stereotypes. Banton's (1979) discussion of the historical development of the concept of race provides a useful illustration of how it has acquired a popular meaning which bears little relation to biological or anthropological reality. He traces its origin from pre-Darwinian typology, where mankind was taken as falling quite neatly into three distinct, "pure" races: Mongoloid, Negro and Caucasian. Sometimes one finds classifications which use "Indian" or "Asian" as types of race which are distinct from Caucasian. This is technically incorrect, and only the aboriginal people of India, and some of those in the North Western territories, are not Caucasian. Furthermore, these categories of physical anthropology are blurred in groups of people – in, say, East Africa and Indonesia – who live at the geographic margins of the traditional territories of the traditional racial groups. Many writers admit that because of racial intermix over the centuries, no pure races can be found and therefore such categories are of little value.

Essentially, race is conceived of as a biological term and based on the premise that human beings can be divided into different groups on the basis of specific biological properties (e.g., colour of skin, texture of hair, shape of nose or cheek bones). It is also recognised that biological and cultural differences are independent of each other. Mankind is born with certain biological endowments, whereas culture is essentially the product of learning within a particular environment. Recent studies show that genetic factors play a smaller part in shaping human behaviour than has previously been alleged (Fischbein, 1980; Plomin & De Fries, 1980). On the other hand, broad conceptualisations of intelligent behaviour and social competence influenced by environment have emerged in many research findings (Zigler & Trickett, 1978; White, Kaban & Attanucci, 1980).

While perceived differences in race may appear to be socially meaningful to those participating in intercultural encounter, race as such, has no standing as a scientific or analytical category. It serves no purpose other than to make and justify invidious distinctions between groups of people.

Given the complexity of the concept of race it is extremely important that racial issues are distinguished from cultural ones, although the literature on ethnicity in counselling does not always seem to do so. Racial differences can affect the rapport between the counsellor and client whereas cultural differences can affect the counsellor's ability to understand the nature of the client's problem. Unlike racial issues, cultural issues can be of considerable importance for advancing our understanding of ethnicity. Banton (1979) comments:

> Whenever anyone is inclined to use the word "race" he should pause and wonder whether or not there is another word that will help express the meaning more precisely. Usually there is.

The appropriate term in any discussion of intercultural counselling should be ethnicity, indicating membership of a group which is distinct in terms of cultural identity, language, religion and living styles. In the literature dealing with the British situation reference is often made to "Asians" and "West Indians" as ethnic groups. Even in such conceptualisations there is an inherent danger of over-simplification since they tend to gloss over the complexities of Asian and West Indian societies. Moreover, there is the danger that ethnicity becomes rigidly associated with a particular geographical location – the area of origin of the group. The fact that two people come from the same subcontinent or even the same country does not necessarily mean that they will behave in a more similar manner than two people who do not. Although political and cultural divisions tend to be related, even subdivision into the actual country of origin (for example, subdividing "Asians" into Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Sri-Lankan) may hide ethnic and cultural differences which ought to form the criteria for group membership. At this point it would seem appropriate to have a closer look at the concept of "culture."

The Concept of Culture

The question often raised is: What is "culture"? The term lacks clear, specific, agreed-upon meaning. There are many definitions of culture, most of which have been suggested by anthropologists. It is fair to say that we tend to refer to people as belonging to a particular culture. In this sense it can be said that X is from the Indian culture. Is this a valid explanation?

Culture is not a static entity, it evolves and changes over time. Culture is not simply the sum of the individuals within the group, but an identity base to which any individual can subscribe. Triandis (1977) has introduced the concept of subjective culture, by which he means people's response to the "man-made part of the environment, or to a group's characteristic way of perceiving its social environment."

Brislin (1981) suggests that culture can be defined in two ways: (a) the actual unfamiliar people with whom an individual interacts; or (b) as a more abstract, focussing on people's characteristic behaviour, ideas and values. According to the author the former is easier to conceptualise. The second definition is also helpful because it allows an analysis of how culture affects the behaviour of its members, and an analysis of how subsequent contact with others can be problematic.

However, when utilizing the concept of culture as a tool to explain differences in behaviour between two or more groups of people, care must be taken not to overemphasise the intercultural differences to the omission of intercultural similarities. Furthermore, it should also be borne in mind that in certain groups intracultural differences may be more significant than other groups. Tajfel (1978) has examined in some depth the forces which lead to the strengthening of group identity which results in the over-stressing of intercultural differences. He identified three sets of conditions which all lead to "the appearance or strengthening of 'in-group' affiliations in members of minorities":

> In the first of these, a common identity is thrust upon a category of people because they are at the receiving end of certain attitudes and treatment from the outside . . .
>
> In the second case, a group already exists in the sense of wishing to preserve its separate identity, and is further reinforced by an interaction between the "inside" and the "outside" attitudes and patterns of social behaviour . . .
>
> In the third case, an existing group might wish to dilute in a number of ways its differences and separateness from others; when this is resistent, new and intense forms of common group identity may be expected to appear . . .

All the scenarios are operative in the British context. An example of the last scenario may be seen in the development and growth of Rastafarianism in West Indian communities in Britain and elsewhere. Here, the expression of culture serves to exaggerate the difference between "Rastas" and others in terms of physical appearance, language, religion, behaviour and so on.

In spite of the difficulties in giving precise meaning to the term culture, an understanding of those elements making up an individual's culture is relevant to communication across some kind of social boundary. This is particularly critical in the assessment of client's problems.

Pressures to produce clear and distinct cultural groups where they may not exist can also be seen in the process of intercultural stereotyping which acts to highlight differences between groups. It is important to mention that although the process of generalisation is natural and necessary in making sense of a complex world, the process can become dangerous when overgeneralised beliefs (stereotypes) are used to determine response to a particular individual. The effects of such beliefs within the educational setting have been outlined elsewhere (Ashworth & Verma, 1983).

Stereotyping within education is not limited to school processes alone; interaction between the counsellor/teacher and client can classify and stress the differences, leading to unfavourable attitudes on the part of the counsellor/teacher which may in turn lead to overtly prejudiced behaviour.

Another area of concern is the use of psychological tests by the counsellor/teacher to gain an insight into the behavioural patterns of the pupil. Many recent writings show that a large number of widely used cognitive and affective tests are thoroughly permeated by the cultural and ideological perspectives of their developers (Verma & Mallick, 1982). Even assuming that cultural characteristics of pupils have been identified for the purposes of understanding their behaviour, there are further problems, centring on the issues of reliability and validity. Tests that have met those criteria with a particular ethnic group may well not be appropriate to another group, because of what is called "cultural bias." This may be true of other devices intended to assess some aspect of behaviour/attitude in different cultural groups (Verma, 1979). During the last 30 years some psychologists have attempted to introduce culture-free or culture-fair tests. The reasoning which underlies such attempts is fallacious and easy to refute (Verma & Mallick, 1982). This also indicates their failure to understand the meaning of the term culture (Verma, 1983).

A crucial aspect in intercultural counselling is to determine the way the client perceives himself/herself. The "self" during the childhood develops through the child's interaction with the total environment. Thus, the school, being part of the child's environment, does provide an opportunity for reformulation of the self-concept. A perceptive and sensitive teacher can detect poor self-concepts among pupils, and can serve as an instrument of change in a child's view of himself. The teacher can exert meaningful influence in modifying the pupil's perceptions both about the present and the future. In summary, the orientation of intercultural counselling must recognise the cultural, ethnic and affective needs of the client/pupil. The process is a dynamic one which must adapt to changing to contextual circumstances.

In concluding this section, it must be emphasised that the ethnic/cultural issues in the counselling context are extremely complex and can not be explained in a simplistic way. Therefore, any discussion of the counsellor/teacher and client relationships, whether in an educational setting or in other spheres of life, must be within a framework of several inter-related concepts such as ethnicity, culture, social class, religion and sex. The counsellor must have knowledge about the specific elements of a culture including the social-psychological characteristics of his/her client, and this should help to reduce the occurrences of misjudgements in interpreting communications from the client. It can be argued that it is extremely difficult to gain a thorough knowledge of the cultural values and patterns of behaviour for every ethnic group with whom the counsellor comes into contact. It is imperative, however, that the counsellor be sensitive to differences in value orientations, socialisations patterns and communication styles about culturally distinctive communities in a plural society. He/she must be creative, understanding, perceptive and adaptive – which would seem to be the essential characteristics toward better intercultural relations.

Reflections

It is clear from the above discussion that none of the terms – ethnicity, culture or minority – are entirely adequate in explaining the difficulties that may occur between the counsellor and client in cross-cultural encounters. The relationship between counsellor and client is a reflection of larger issues. The very choice of a particular profession – teacher, social worker, careers adviser or school psychologist – is an indication of the person's social, cultural and personal attitudes which must affect his relationships with the client.

However, the role of counsellor/teacher should be seen as that of "multicultural man." This implies that he or she should be able to identify with cultures other than his or her own. One would expect that successful counsellors/teachers possess a number of skills and personal qualities which distinguish them from those derived from the culture into which they were born.

Another characteristic of multicultural individuals is that they are perceptive, sensitive and adaptive when faced with difficulties, and can interact in many situations regardless of the culture in which they find themselves. They are continually undergoing personal transitions because of the challenges. Multicultural individuals can look at their own cultural characteristics from the perception of an outsider. They are also able to share knowledge concerning important ideas and concepts, and are prepared to analyse these flexibly.

The teacher needs to develop a multicultural orientation so that he/she can act successfully and comfortably in a plural society. The teacher, working in a multiethnic environment, needs to learn how to acknowledge, account for and, if necessary, reconstruct his/her own attitudes and practices towards, and assumptions about, those from a culture different to his/her own. In order to attain these objectives the teacher will require critical and informed assessment of personal responses to specific situations and interactions; of expectations of individuals because of assumptions they make about the nature and potentials of the culture from which they come, or with which they are identified by others; of the ways in which the distinctive features of cultures are presented to other pupils and the ways in which they are asked to treat them. In short, what is required is an emphasis on personnel and classroom practice, and the connotative context in which such processes have their existence.

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Intercultural Counselling: West German Perspectives

Wolf-Rüdiger Minsel and Wolfgang Herff

Which members of different cultures are presently resident in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) for a long period of time or on a permanent basis? A reasonably detailed response to this question becomes a necessary precondition for the description of counselling approaches in the Federal Republic of Germany. We propose to demonstrate these approaches by reference to five specific groups of minorities which represent the variety and extent of the many ethnocultural groups living in the Federal Republic of Germany. These minorities are, namely:

- "Gastarbeiter" (guest workers)
- "Asylanten" (persons seeking asylum)
- "Spätaussiedler" (German immigrants from Eastern Europe)
- "Ethnische Minderheiten" (ethnic minorities)
- "Displaced Persons"

To understand the living conditions of these groups of people, it is important to deal with the historical development and the present conditions of the FRG. Some of the essential factors will necessarily include the holocaust of Fascist Germany, Germany's dissipation as a consequence of World War II, the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany as a democracy and a welfare state, the Wirtschaftswunder and the world-wide economic recession.

Wolf-Rudiger Minsel is Professor and Director of the Department of Psychology, Faculty of Education, University of Cologne, Federal Republic of Germany.
Wolfgang Herff is a member of the Department of Psychology, Faculty of Education, University of Cologne, Federal Republic of Germany.

In order to collect reliable data, official governmental agencies of the federal government as well as single states, trade unions, the independent welfare union and ecclesiastical institutions were contacted and asked to provide official materials or to give information and interviews concerning their intercultural activities. Additional material was also obtained from the report and proceedings of the conference of the Psychological Counselling Centres and Psychosocial Services for Foreigners in 1982. Our research also included some reports from a variety of other projects concerned with social welfare and counselling of ethnic minorities in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Guest Workers

A deficiency in workers throughout the years of the reconstruction of the nation and the time of the "Wirtschaftswunder" created an urgent need for massive infusions of labour into the German industrial economy. These conditions thus led to the concept of importing foreign workers to meet the urgent demand for industrial growth. The original notion was for a "rollover system" whereby foreign workers would be invited to stay for a couple of years before returning to their native countries, thus giving the opportunity for other Gastarbeiter to undertake employment if and when they were needed.

However, it soon became increasingly evident that the Gastarbeiter system of recruiting did not and would not work as originally intended. The temporary workers recruited from neighbouring European countries and from Turkey kept on prolonging the duration of their allotted stay in the FRG. The consequence of this system of recruitment has been that, at present time, there are close to five million (4,700,000) foreigners living in the country, of which 1.2 million originated from the neighbouring European community and 1.6 million from Turkey. The figures for foreign workers, recorded by the Labour Ministry of the FRG, are as follows: Turkish 560,000; Yugoslav 320,000; Italian 260,000; Greek 116,000; Spanish 76,000; and Portuguese 51,000. Another 420,000 persons come from various other countries. The prospect is that this situation will remain valid for some years to come since the recruiting of foreign workers from abroad has ceased altogether.

Certain common problems can be inferred from the original guiding principles that established the programme for the importation of foreign labour. In more precise terms, one major concern has been the integration of these foreign workers and their families into the societal pattern of the FRG. Taking as a example the city of Cologne, we can pinpoint and generalize some of the social problems that would, in all likelihood, affect other groups of minorities in other cities. The more salient of these problems are as follows:

a. Stabilization or reduction of the percentage of foreign people in relation to Germans in special city areas;
b. Social integration of those people authorizes to stay permanently in the country;
c. Protection of legal status;
d. Prevention of ghettoization;
e. Adjustment of schools to foreign minors;
f. Adjustment of institutions of preschool education and youth welfare to the needs of foreign minors;
g. Promotion of the professional qualifications of juvenile foreigners;
h. Advanced training for foreign workers;
i. Personal and cultural maintenance;
j. Participation of foreigners in local decision-making processes.

In accordance with the development of the living situations of the Gastarbeiter in the FRG, welfare and counselling practices have changed considerably. In previous years, the general trend of counselling was geared towards certain main areas of concern including language courses, general legal problems, working conditions and locating suitable living accomadations. At the present time, the focus has necessarily shifted to psychological counselling. Even the Labour Ministry in Bonn currently spends thirty-five million DM on social counselling. The welfare and counselling of foreigners is carried out by the following institutions:

a. The Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB – the Organization of Trade Unions) and Katholische Arbeiterbewegung (KAB – the Catholic Workers Movement) are examples of organizations concerned mainly with legal counselling.
b. Charitas and Diakonisches Werk (both ecclesiastical organizations concerned for the welfare of workers) are concerned mainly with psycological counselling as well as with the welfare of foreign workers. In the process of their professional activities, these groups specialize in specific ethnic minorities, such as, AWO – Yugoslav, Turkish, Morrocan, Tunisian; Charitas – Italian, Portuguese, Spanish; Diakonisches Werk – Greek.

c. Jugendsozialwerk (Youth Welfare Foundation) is involved with youth counselling, professional, educational and school counselling.
d. Some cities and communities support counselling centres for specific groups of people.

Two examples are provided below to exemplify the forms that specific counselling activities might take.

In Baden-Württemberg, one hundred and fifty communal counselling centres exist with fifty agencies employing foreign counsellors. The counselling done by these foreign counsellors addresses family matters and problems which characterize the second generation of foreigners in Germany. While the main goal is integration into the FRG, help is also offered to those foreigners who wish to return to their native countries. To accomplish the goal of integration, special emphasis is placed on community-oriented social care. This means that all relevant resources are utilized to establish contacts and cooperation between groups, clubs and institutions of the community, as well as to help promote better organization of leisure time and augment the formation of self-help and neighbourhood groups. The basic principle involved is the encouragement of people to become more and more independent rather than depending for social support upon official institutions.

In Nordrhein-Westfalen, an established counselling centre exists in Cologne which offers counselling for Turkish families. This institution is part of a general programme for the improvement of the integration of foreign citizens into the society of Cologne. In 1983, 47,000 of the 153,000 children living in Cologne were of foreign origin, of which 29,000 are Turkish. Yet foreigners do not use the educational counselling centre in the city of Cologne enough. This is probably due to language difficulties, insufficient information and timidity towards official agencies. The work of the counselling centre is aimed at finding out how behaviour disturbances of Turkish children might be alleviated. The centre now employs two Turkish psychologists, one specialized social case worker and a Turkish secretary. Besides working with Turkish families, they are also engaged in educating other mental health professionals through advanced in-service training courses.

The process of psychological counselling involves conversations with parents, conversations with children and youth, with teachers, and with answering the questions of professionals regarding specific cultural peculiarities of the Turkish community. Furthermore, information and advanced training courses are provided for professionals in day care centres, schools, clinics, and the like.

The problems which the team encountered included psychosomatic symptoms, aggressive behaviour, difficulties in school, and delinquent behaviour such as, stealing, roving and running away from home, and problems originating from parental conflict and unemployment. Marital problems are common among the women, who tend especially to exhibit symptoms of depression, psychosomatic disturbances ("Gastarbeiter-Ulcus") and compulsive disorders. The men tend toward alcoholism, compounded by shifting attitudes and values of a religious and moral nature and are sometimes given to explosive episodes.

An unalterable prerequisite for counsellors working with Turkish clients is an intensive knowledge of the Turkish culture coupled with a reciprocal knowledge of German living conditions. It is important to know the Turkish traditions, their codes of conduct and particularly the differentiated signals of the culture. Because of the special relationship of husband and wife, both a male and a female counsellor are necessary. For example, it might happen that the female counsellor might not be accepted and might even be deeply resented by the husband, or that the wife expresses anxiety when she is being treated by a male counsellor. The counselling focus is mainly on the parental problems as these are often regarded as the precipitating or underlying causes for the delinquency of children. Counsellors work with either single persons, couples or the whole family, and sometimes with groups of parents. Applied methods of intervention are behaviour therapy, client-centered therapy, family therapy and couple therapy. Even if only one partner expresses symptoms, it is desirable to work with his or her spouse simultaneously.

In nearly all cases, counselling, within the social context of the Turkish family, becomes necessary. The coordination of social activities is done by the social case worker. This means including welfare workers, medical doctors and teachers in the counselling process. Twelve psychological counselling centres of the kind described presently exist in the FRG.

Persons Seeking Asylum

The constitution of the FRG demands that political refugees be given asylum. Until 1973, the annual figure for political refugees mainly from socialist countries was estimated at about 5,000. By 1980, this figure had climbed to more than 100,000. But in addition to the settlers who arrived for political reasons, there were others, originating from the

Near East and some Third World counties, who sought to better their living conditions by gaining employment in the FRG. The influx of ethnic minorities into the country forced the government to take such actions as accelerating the application process, changing the legal status of applicants, providing housing accommodation in collective quarters, restricting working permits for a period of two years and limiting the permission for travel. Such measures reduced the number of applicants by two thirds in 1982. The applicants are provided with accomodations, clothing and a small amount of pocket money. Most counselling is intended to drive home to the applicants how bad their chances are in Germany and to convince them to return to their own countries. In the state of Baden Württemberg, it is regarded as very important to provide the applicants with activities which might facilitate repatriation.

Another group of refugees originates in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. These refugees from Indochina are permitted to enter on humanitarian grounds. There are, however, restrictions on the numbers permitted to enter, and these are fixed by the federal government and by the state governments. That is why such refugees are called Kontingentfluchtlinge (contingent refugees). The total number of refugees from Indochina is estimated at 28,500 persons. In the case of Indochina minorities, counselling is provided in a similar way to those other immigrants granted asylum in Germany. They are entitled to language training, to higher education and to advanced professional or vocational specialization. In addition, they also receive educational grants, unemployment compensation and social welfare for themselves and their family.

In caring for such people, the leaders of the collective quarters, the governmental agencies of the federal states, cities, villages and communities, unemployment offices, corporations, chambers of commerce and industry, and several ministries become involved in one way or another. The main objective is to get these refugees into contact with the social network and, simultaneously, to encourage them to become as self-sufficient as possible in as short a time as possible.

The integration of children into school does not prove to be problematic; but the same cannot be said for the adults. Professional education, supplementary training or even re-education present very special problems. Besides their linguistic barriers, the refugees often become overburdened by the working tempo and rhythm of German factories. As a consequence, many refugees remain employed for only short periods of time. Specific psychosocial counselling centres which deal with these and other issues are scarce. As a rule, German institutions are not oriented toward the counselling of specific ethnic groups within the multinational framework.

German Immigrants from Eastern Europe

The dissipation of Germany and the new constitution of Poland after World War II created some "German" minorities in the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Many of them still make considerable attempts to immigrate to the FRG. The salient problem of this group is language. While most of the adults are able to speak or, at least, understand German, most of the children have been educated in the tongue of the country they were living in prior to their settlement in Germany. The government of Nordrhein-Westfalen aims to separate the youth from their parental home and to place them in boarding schools where, it is hoped, they will learn the German language more speedily. The children and youth first take part in an intensive language course of nine months' duration and are then placed in advanced classes in boarding schools. After school, the youth welfare organization takes care of them. Seventy social workers in Nordrhein-Westfalen are in charge of the juvenile "Spätaussiedler." Thanks to their intensive efforts, none of these youths were unemployed in the years from 1981 to 1982. However, the worldwide recession has affected this success.

In the case of the adults, while they take part in an intensive language training course, they are still faced with a paucity of professionals to provide more specific services. However, as a rule, social workers in charge of juveniles will also counsel the families as well. They will try, for example, if they regard it as useful, to arrange contacts with a local psychological counselling centre. The problem remains, however, that the number of psychological counselling centres for this specific group of people is severely limited. As a consequence, the problems of integrating these people into the existing system still persists.

Ethnic Minorities

Sinti and Roma, more commonly known as gypsies (about 40,000 people), form the only real ethnic minority in Germany with its own culture, tradition and language – the Romanes. Most of the Sinti and Roma (about 90%) living today in the FRG can be regarded as settled.

So, it would be misleading to label the Sinti and Roma as nomads. Nevertheless, their special way of leading their lives causes trouble in many families. About twenty-five to thirty percent of the Sinti children attend the "Sonderschule" (school for learning disabled children), in contrast to only three percent of German children. Even today, about thirty-five percent of the adults are regarded as illiterates. About eighty percent fail to finish their regular school education. As a result, the unemployment rate for this group is about twenty-five percent.

From the point of view of economic status, the Sinti and Roma do not represent only one class. Their average income is much lower than that of the German population. A large number of these people live under modest or poor conditions, and about twenty-five percent of the 30,000 Sinti living in the FRG are dependent on government subsidies.

The relation between the Sinti and Roma and German official agencies is shaded by deep mistrust which stems from the pogroms of Fascist Germany. About 500,000 Sinti and Roma were victims of fascism in Europe. Counselling of Sinti and Roma, therefore, is mostly restricted to those aspects that are important for survival, such as social welfare or legal counselling. Self-help organizations are particularly important for these minorities. Several organizations attempt to get "Wiedergutmachung" (restitution for the injustice committed during the Nazi regime), to secure German nationality for gypsies without any nationality, to preserve the culture and tradition of Sinti and Roma and to offer help in administrative affairs. The counselling takes place in public institutions, though sometimes the helpers travel to the applicants. This promotion of self-help is welcomed by the both government and the people concerned. Self-determination and self-responsibility seem to be of special importance to the gypsies. This is emphasized by the Union of German Sinti which demanded that people who do not belong to the Sintis (such as press or social workers) should not interfere with Sinti affairs.

Displaced Persons

In the Federal Republic of Germany, especially in Nordrhein-Westfalen, there are still 100,000 foreigners mainly of Polish or Ukranian origin who were, to a large extent, employed as workers in the coal mines of the German Ruhrgebiet and were overrun by the subsequent political developments in their countries after World War II. In Bielefeld, Essen and Oberhausen there still exist settlements which can be described as potential explosive spots. However, difficulties with this group are decreasing.

Until 1982, the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen was still supporting some kindergartens in these settlements, but such support no longer seems to be required. In Münster, however, a Latvian grammar school still exists. Some years ago, the education of Polish children in a Polish grammar school in France was financially supported by the German government. As the children can now be integrated into German schools, this need too has diminished. Only one counsellor now takes care of all these settlements. His main task is to counsel the full range of different and varied problems.

The implications for counselling for different cultural groups should have become evident from those examples. The significant points are summarized below:

1. The number of foreigners is relatively high – about one twelfth of the general population. They are strangers from different European, African, Asian and South American cultures. A broad spectrum of activities in the realm of social welfare is provided to accelerate integration into the German society. Such activities are, for example, language courses, labour and social counselling.
2. Besides this, social welfare workers are employed to care for these groups. Their task, beyond strategies for survival, is to initiate integrative activities designed to promote contact with the German population. One of the essentials is a self-help orientation, particularly since there still exists a mistrust of German local authorities.
3. Only a few psychological counselling centres exist. They are part of the social services and belong to different organizations. Their concepts vary considerably, e.g., counselling clients of only one nation versus multinational counselling, general psychological counselling versus educational and family counselling, with German or foreign employees. What they have in common is a lack of distinction between social welfare and educational counselling. The use of one professional to care for a whole family has proved to have been a worthwhile notion.
4. The client's disturbances are manifold. The most prevalent symptoms are psychomatic and suicidal tendencies. They are closely related to the psychosocial situation of the family and the related problems, of different values and attitudes occurring between parents and children, high stress in daily work, unemploy-

ment, and conflicts between the family and the German sociocultural environment. To provide relief, two concepts emerge, namely, the importance of intercultural exchange of experiences along with activities that will support and enhance the cultural identity of the individual. Both serve to overcome the isolation and to place the problems of the minority individuals in an epidemiological perspective.

5. The psychological implication for methodology are manifold. Four such methods may be differentiated as follows:
   Counselling and therapy of children, youth, couples and families with the familiar clinical procedures.
   Prevention, such as tutoring foreign school children after school, developing self-help programs in the community and enhancing the use of leisure time.
   Publicity, such as informational meetings about the social background of specific countries, counselling and co-operation with institutions taking care of foreigners (e.g., conversations with the different institutions of a quarter, evening events for parents, development of educational materials).
   Advanced training for different professional groups of Germans and foreigners working in the same field, and weekend seminars with foreign social welfare workers.
   A specialized approach for an institution geared to a specific clientele cannot take place because of the low number of counselling centres.
6. For the counsellor, it is an important pre-requisite to have knowledge and experiences of the language, mentality and living conditions of clients. The role language plays is not quite clear. It is undisputed that emotions, images and symbols can be made clear in a more differentiated way in one's own native language. And it is undisputed that the use of the native language of the client by the counsellor helps him understand the client's present state of identity formation and the client's aspirations for the future. The chosen language obviously determines the effectiveness of both diagnostic and therapeutic activities (e.g., analytical vs. structured intervention).
7. There is no existing research into the present situation of counselling and welfare care in the FRG. Rather, it is only the living situation of foreigners and counselling in general that have been attended to. There exists, then, a great need for sharing and coordinating activities between the various groups of professionals

counselling foreigners. In fact, all groups taking part in the counselling process of foreigners should be in closer contact to exchange their experiences, to discuss problems from everyday professional practice and to clarify problems theoretically. Such a need encompasses both theoretical orientations as well as the selection of the practical uses of methodology.

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Attitudes Towards Immigrants: Australian Perspectives

Ronald Taft

Jean Burnet, Chairman of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Advisory Committee on Multiculturalism, has defined multiculturalism as "voluntary marginal differentiation among people who are equal participants in the society" with accent on the voluntary and equal participants (1975, p. 212). Dr. Burnet pointed out that a miscarriage of this policy can give rise to hostility on the one hand and extravagant hopes on the other. It is the possible hostility that I wish to examine.

For the present purpose, I shall use the term "Australian" as a shorthand term for referring to the established, non-Aboriginal residents of Australian communities, as opposed to "immigrants." This usage, like virtually all of the terminology in the field of immigrant-Australian relations, is open to ambiguous interpretation; it is not at all clear what the criteria are for deciding when an immigrant becomes an Australian, let alone for deciding when an "immigrant" becomes an "ethnic" – if ever. Answers to these questions must be given before we can properly talk about a multicultural or polyethnic Australia. But for the purposes of my paper, it is sufficient to rely on commonsense distinctions between Australians and immigrants. Roughly speaking, immigrants are distinguished through their connection with some foreign country, usually the place of their birth, and Australians by being born in Australia or having lived there during their childhood. (This paper is concerned with attitudes to immigrants and not with ethnic attitudes between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians.)

For most of its history, Australians have had close contact with the life of immigrants, either because they themselves were born elsewhere

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Ronald Taft, Ph. D., is Professor Emeritus of Social Psychology in the Faculty of Education of Monash University, Victoria, Australia.

or because one of their parents had been. It was the 20-year period, 1927 to 1947, that was unique in Australian history for its relative lack of immigration, rather than the rest of the time between 1783 and the present day during which immigration has been high, apart from short gaps. Perhaps the hiatus between 1927 and 1947 was the cause of an exaggerated innocence in the present 45–70 age group who grew up during that period. It is this generation that has forgotten that assisted immigration has been a common practice in the past whenever the development of the country required particular types of people who were not freely available.

About twenty years ago I was invited to contribute a chapter to a book in which my allotted task was to assess the impact that migrants had had on the Australian way of life (Taft, 1962). This was difficult, since a strict interpretation of the subject would have dealt mainly with the changes in the situation of the Aboriginal communties and their culture as a result of the arrival of the Europeans, but this is not what was intended by the editor. My general conclusion (Taft, 1962, p. 206) was that

> the influence of immigrants on the Australian way of life and national character is a comparatively slow and limited one, as organised societies can absorb large influxes of population without changing greatly.

The main effect on Australia of large-scale immigration has been to make us more aware of the cultural diversity of the human family. Let the reader imagine the impact on the established residents in the middle of the 19th century of the arrival of types of people who were strange in their eyes: Irish peasants, Californian gold-diggers, Chinese coolies and "Indian" camel drivers; or of the arrival of orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe, Lebanese and Greek merchants or German farmers in the latter part of the 19th century and first part of the 20th, just to choose a few of the many possible examples.

Cultural Diversity

It has not always been easy to come to terms with cultural diversity. There was a considerable well of suspicion and even antagonism toward the substantial numbers of Americans who flocked to Australia in the 1850s. One basis for this resentment arose from earlier criticism by Californians of the behaviour of Australian gold-diggers in their country. In 1850 postal workers in California had actually refused to handle mail destined for Sydney because of their antagonism toward ruffians from Australia. The Americans in Australia were viewed, in turn, as lynchers and "gentlemen of the bowie knife and the revolver" (Potts & Potts, 1974). There were also cultural objections to the Americans' habits of drinking cocktails and putting ice into their drinks. On the other hand, the same Americans were respected for the high level of technology that they brought to the primitive industry of the day.

In more recent times there was a mild shock effect on residents of Melbourne and Sydney caused by the arrival of substantial numbers of refugees from Germany and Australia in the late 1930s. The inevitable briefcases and raincoats that were fully four inches longer than the customary Australian length were really quite a challenge to the comfortable, but very rigid, conventions that prevailed at the time. There were also often hostile reactions if these new arrivals were overheard speaking a foreign language to each other in public places.

If we recall those attitudes of only 40 years ago, can we doubt that there has been a dramatic breakthrough in tolerance in Australia? The continuing arrival of diverse types of immigrants can take much of the credit for this. As group after group of immigrants arrived after World War II, the degree of deviance from expected styles of appearance and behaviour that could be tolerated was pushed out wider and wider. We would no longer look with surprise at a youngish woman dressed in dark clothes with her face half covered with a shawl, or at her male counterpart walking two paces in front of her and sporting a Turkish-style mustache and jacket shape. We would no longer think it strange – or even rude – that people speak in a foreign tongue in public places; and the smell of garlic on a breath after lunch may arouse envy rather than disapproval. Cultural styles that once hit Australian minds, even the most tolerant of them, as alien now have become familiar parts of the way of life.

Obviously, the picture that I have painted is far too rosy, and the limits of cultural tolerance are still only too readily manifest; but I offer the striking nature of the changes in such a short period as an excuse for my hyperbole. At least this reminder of the intolerance of the 1930s, when the dominant outlook concerning the integration of immigrants was unequivocally assimilationist, and when deviation was regarded with impatience, may help to put the present into a more accurate perspective.

Effect of Contact

What has been the effect of extensive contact with immigrants? An initial contact with people who are different or who are perceived as dangerous can cause increased reserve and even hostility, i.e., straight xenophobia. But, with increased contact, there may develop a mutual understanding and adjustments in behaviour towards each other that tend to defuse somewhat the suspicion and resentment. The history of relations between the residents and the newcomers in Australia so far has been that, over time, the newcomers have become more like the majority of Australians in their ways, i.e., become partially acculturated, if not fully assimilated, and the established residents have gradually become more accustomed to and tolerant of foreign ways. As I have pointed out above, every experience of growing familiarity and acceptance of group which is culturally divergent from one's own culture helps to widen the range of tolerance for the next experience. The long period of relatively happy relations among a heterogeneous group of people in Australia over the past 30 years must have helped to increase general tolerance in Australia.

However, the need to come to terms with the unfamiliar is not the only factor that mediates the effect of increased contact on attitudes. There is a substantial psychological literature on the effect of contact between members of ethnic groups on national and racial prejudice (summarized in Amir, 1969.) Increased contact can improve or deteriorate the attitudes depending on the circumstances. The effect is positive when the contact is non-threatening or even rewarding, or when it is supportive of the self-respect of the parties, or when it manifests a communality of interest between them. It is negative when the increased contact reinforces negative images, and when there is a threat of competition for resources. It seems to be established that working together for common goals is the most constructive form of personal contact for improving mutual attitudes. But this would apply only if all parties have respect for the contribution that each can make, and if the manner in which the parties carry out their roles is mutually consonant. However, for increased contact to be constructive for attitudes, it is not necessary for all goals to be common – only that some of them are, especially if the goals are important ones for the people concerned.

The impact of various immigrant groups on the resident population of Australia over our history has illustrated some of the above factors in operation, especially the part played by mutuality of aims, and the negative influence of conflict in the achievement of those aims. When the immigrants have been needed for the development of the country, they have usually been welcomed and praised for their fine characteristics.

The history of attitudes toward immigrants in Australia provides plenty of examples where increased contact has led to friction when there was competition for scarce resources between the established settlers and the newcomers. Threats to the availability of food, jobs, spouses, land, gold, housing, markets and schooling have all played their part. On some occasions these resources were essential to life satisfaction, and it is understandable that the residents were resentful of anyone who might threaten them. Restlessness regarding some of these issues, employment in particular, is starting to stir in Australia now and must influence attitudes towards immigrants. It seems doubtful that increased contact with the newcomers would reduce this cause of resentment of immigrants as a class, although it might improve the acceptability of individual immigrants. Thus, many of the ethnic groups in Australia adopt a low profile to be on the safe side. These groups may be thought of as "the silent majority" of the immigrants.

Attitudes to Immigrants in the 19th Century

I would like now to look in more detail at the attitudes of Australians towards immigration and immigrants. In the last 35 years we have had survey data to help us assess this, but we must rely on archival material such as newspapers and public documents to provide information on attitudes before that. Unfortunately, very little has been done by historians to collate such material, except as it applies to the striking case of the Chinese and other non-European immigrants of the 19th century. The antagonistic attitudes toward the Chinese were openly expressed and were associated with hostile actions, discriminatory legislation and exclusion from the country. Quotations from the press range from "hordes of idolatist barbarians, destitute of religion and morality" ("The Empire," 1861; quoted in Stevens, 1971, p. 130) to "filthy scouring of the putrid East" ("The Bulletin," 1899; quoted in Stevens, 1971, p. 132). Opposition also became outspoken against the Germans in the years before and during World War I, when they were accused of being an alien and traiterous element, and many of them were interned without clear justification.

One clear-cut case of hostility to an immigrant group in the 19th century was the attitude of the established settlers to the Irish. What must surely rate as the first opinion poll on attitudes to immigrants in Australia was conducted in 1842 by Mr John Patterson, the "Victorian" Immigration Agent, when he sent a questionnaire to prominent citizens asking them for their opinions about immigrants present and future. A typical reply came from Dr Alexander Thomson (Public Records Office of Victoria, Series 19, 42/1956): "Great numbers of immigrants of 1841 from the South of Ireland were of little value to the colony and scarcely worth their Food and very many of them being far below our own Aborigines in intelligence and Moral character." There is still a story to be told about the Irish-British conflict that split Australian society for over 100 years and then miraculously subsided in the early 1960s.

The three-volume work on racism in Australia, edited by Stevens (1971), has much to say about prejudice against Orientals and Pacific Islanders in Australia, a little about prejudice against Germans and Jews, but nothing about anti-Irish feeling. The Irish community, together with the Scots, were the first separate ethnic groups in a polyethnic Australia. Both of these distinguishable groups predated the German, Chinese and Jewish communities, and set up a pattern of cultural *and* structural pluralism which applies today in one form or another to current groups. I refer to the preservation of national customs and celebration of national events, such as St Patrick's Day, and the establishment of formal organisations, clubs, schools and religious institutions.

Public Opinion Surveys on Immigration

We now turn to some results of relevant opinion surveys, mainly those conducted by the Australian Public Opinion Polls (Roy Morgan) and Irving Saulwick & Associates. There are three aspects of attitudes toward immigrants: one is the attitude towards immigration itself; another toward particular immigrant groups, either in terms of their nationality or their occupational categories; and a third toward their integration into Australia. When the prevailing attitudes are favourable to immigration in general, the attitudes towards particular groups tend to improve also, and the opposite is the case when they are unfavourable.

In 1948, a survey using modern sampling and interviewing techniques was conducted on the adult population of Melbourne by the Melbourne University Department of Psychology (Oeser & Hammond, 1954) at a time when Australians were beginning to realise that they were under growing pressure from outside to populate the continent and to open the doors more widely to immigrants from Europe. These included refugees and British and Dutch people whose roots and had been unsettled by the psychosocial disruption of the War. Thus, a community of interest between the immigrants and the Australians was established with respect to their immigration; the immigrants wanted to come and the Australians needed their services. In the 1948 survey, 93 per cent of the Melbourne population agreed that Australia needed immigrants, and, almost without exception, these favoured the free immigration of English. Free immigration of Irish was favoured by 65 per cent; other groups were less popular: Italians 21 per cent; Chinese 32 per cent and American Blacks 10 per cent. (See Table 1.)

Table 1

Attitudes Toward the Immigration of Selected Nationalities in Australian Surveys (in %)

	Melbourne 1948 (Oeser-Hammond)		Australia 1964 ASRP-Huck		Melb/Sydney 1971 Saulwick-"The Age"	
	Free Immigration ("Allow them to come," "try to get them to come.")	Exclude	Free Immigration	Exclude	Free Immigration	Exclude
English	91	2	91	3	79	3
Irish	65	16	83	4	–	–
Italian	21	46	46	23	48	11
Chinese	32	24	17	33	36	19
Blacks	10	77	17	47	32	34

Since that time, opinions about Australia's demand for immigrants has waxed and waned according to the position of the economy and changed attitudes towards particular groups. During the 1960s the majority of Australians appeared to support an increase rather than a decrease in the number of immigrants (Gallup Polls, 1961, 1964; Perth Surveys 1960, 1966; see Richardson-Taft, 1968), but by 1971 the position had changed. In "The Age" Poll (Saulwick & Associations) of July 12, 1971, only 11 per cent favoured an increase in the number of immigrants and 53 per cent a decrease. The major reason given was lack of housing and employment problems. Even a small majority of the non-British immigrants who were asked opposed rather than favoured an increase. A poll on the same subject held in June 1977 (Gallup Poll, "The Herald," June 19, 1977) gave very similar results (6 per cent in favour, 51 per cent opposed), but this time the question referred specifically to "non-British" migrants. The quota of immigrants admitted has fluctuated quite markedly from year to year, varying from 55,000 to 185,000 since the big immigration began in 1947, but the actual figures have borne little relationship to the opinions of the public. The number of immigrants was far more determined by government assessments of the needs of Australia and also on opportunities and pressures from outside of Australia, such as the needs of Lebanese refugees in 1977, than by public opinion.

With the present continuing high rate of unemployment, Australian attitudes seem to be moving against immigration. It is not difficult to understand the motives of those who oppose the continued admission of immigrants on the grounds that the present depressed state of the employment market does not warrant it. There is plenty of precedent in Australia's history for that outlook. Though there appears not to have been a general opinion survey in Australia since 1977 on attitudes to continued immigration, in 1983 the Federal Labor Government reduced the quota of immigrants from 120,000 to 90,000 in the face of about a 10 per cent unemployment rate.

Attitudes to Particular Nationalities

There has been a big change in Australian attitudes toward the immigration of people of particular nationalities. Even as late as 1947, there was still an assumption that the immigrants would be almost entirely British with a few exceptions. At that time, only a few people (21 per cent) indicated that they favoured Australia allowing in even 12,000 displaced persons per year. (In fact, 90,000 arrived in 1948–49.) For the next 30 years, the arbitrary figure of 50 per cent was taken as the minimum target for British immigrants, although it was seldom actually reached until the 1960s. Even a progressive thinker of Dr Evatt's standing was publicly advocating a target of 60 per cent in 1958 in order to preserve the British composition of the Australian population (see Jupp, 1966, pp. 116–7). Suddenly, without any proclamation, this policy seems largely to have disappeared. In the past few years, new settlers from Great Britain have fallen to less than a third of the total and few voices are heard any more on the subject. In the November 9, 1977, "Age" Poll, the preference for British over other Northern and Western Europeans had completely disappeared in the younger (20–34 years) and better educated respondents, although the older still had a clear preference for the British.

The changed attitudes towards different nationalities can be easily illustrated by the views expressed in opinion polls: in 1948 there was 70 per cent difference in the numbers who supported the admission of English immigrants and those supporting Italian; in 1964 the difference was only 45 per cent; and in 1971, 31 per cent (see Table 1.) The change in the relative attitude towards the admission of Blacks is even more noticeable.

In 1948, 77 per cent would not allow in any Blacks at all, whereas in 1964 the figure was 47 per cent and in 1971, 34 per cent – still high, but considerably lowered. This surely is a good indication that the most extreme form of the white Australian exclusiveness policy is now much rarer, although one could not, by any means, claim that prejudices play no part today in the issuing of visas. In an "Age" Poll in Sydney and Melbourne in 1972 ("The Age," August 1, 1972), 75 per cent of the respondents agreed, at least partly, that "coloured migrants are as acceptable as any other migrants." In the past ten years Australia has accepted 80,000 immigrants from Indochina, perhaps a higher number in proportion to present population than any other country, and nearly 10,000 are still being accepted annually. In June 1979, the Gallup Poll ("The Bulletin," July 10, 1979) found that 38 per cent of Australians favoured a quota of 10,000 or more, but 35 per cent favoured less than 1,000 per annum or none at all. The most prejudiced against these immigrants were older males with low education. Immigrants were just as likely to favour exclusion of Indo-Chinese as were Australians.

It is of interest to note the age differences in the attitudes toward the various national groups. The younger people are far more sympathetic to Blacks and other non-Europeans than are older people, but they are relatively less sympathetic to Italians and Greeks ("The Age," July 19, 1971). In 1977 ("The Age," November 9), 11 per cent of the respondents under the age of 25 chose Asian immigrants as their first preference as immigrants compared with only 5 per cent choosing Southern Europeans. The trends may point to an ultimate convergence of attitudes in Australia towards British, other Europeans and non-Europeans, to a point at which all are treated as equal, which would be a remarkable change from the past. An interesting question is what is causing the change. Is it due to more contact with non-Europeans? Possibly. Is it due to the different images of non-Europeans and American Blacks that is being purveyed by the media? Perhaps. Is it due to the gigantic increase in travel? Probably. Is it due to the Australian education system? I should like to think so.

Attitudes Toward Multiculturalism

This leads on to my concluding consideration. Given the history of attitudes in Australia to various immigrant groups, would a policy of cultural pluralism lead to more favourable attitudes by Australians toward other groups – or less? Judging by the results of opinion polls, I think less. It is clear that only a small minority of Australians favour increased segregation of immigrants in their own national groups. In a poll published in "The Herald," June 19, 1977, only 3 per cent of the adults interviewed favoured segregation, and 90 per cent of the respondents believed that the immigrants "should be encouraged to mix more with English-speaking Australians." Just what the Australian public means by this is not too clear. What sort of encouragement do they have in mind? Do they see themselves as having any obligation to do the encouraging? is it merely a pious platitude? or is this opinion just an excuse for prejudice? I don't know. Many more questions, and actual tests of behaviour, would be needed to be able to determine just how receptive most Australians are to gestures of friendship from immigrants and how willing they are to extend their own hands.

In 1972, residents of Melbourne and Sydney were asked directly "Do you agree that migrants should try to forget their old national customs as quickly as possible?" ("The Age," August 4, 1972; see Table 2). Thirty-six per cent of Australian-born respondents agreed strongly with this proposition, while only 21 per cent disagreed strongly. The corresponding figures for non-British immigrants were 33 per cent and 32 per cent, respectively. Even about a half of this group were less than enthusiastic about the maintenance of immigrant cultures, presumably with the exception of their own.

The most telling survey of all, that of Saulwick & Associates published in "The Age" on November 9, 1977, makes it clear that most Australians favour the proposition that migrants "should be encouraged to fit into the community as soon as possible." Fifty-four per cent of Australian born favoured this, compared with 46 per cent of all immigrants (see Table 2). One of the two alternative choices was "migrants should be assisted by Government funds to maintain their own culture." This was chosen by 29 per cent of the Australian born and 37 per cent of the immigrants. The other choice was "migrants should be left to fit in at their own pace."

Table 2

Attitudes Toward Integration of Immigrants (in %)

Saulwick "The Age" (Aug. 4, 1972)

"Do you agree that migrants should try to forget their old national customs as quickly as possible?"

	Total per cent	Australian/N.Z. Born	Non-British Immigrants
Agree strongly	36	36	33
Agree	20	20	21
Disagree	22	23	14
Disagree strongly	23	21	32

Saulwick "The Age" (Nov. 9, 1977)

	"Migrants should be encouraged to fit into the community as soon as possible."	"Migrants should be assisted by govt. funds to maintain their own culture."
Total	54	31
Australian/N.Z. Born	56	29
United Kingdom	48	34
Southern European	39	45
All Immigrants	46	37

Considering everything, there is a greater acceptance of government assistance for pluralism than there used to be, especially among the young, well-educated Australians; but the assimilation model for the integration of immigrants is still a strong one and is even favoured by many immigrants themselves. This does not necessarily mean that all aspects of multiculturalism are rejected by the public at large. Many of them are acceptable. There is definite support for parents teaching their children their own language (cf. Buchanan's study of women in Melbourne in 1971, Buchanan, 1976) but not for establishing special classes in government schools in order to do so ("The Herald," June 19, 1977). Associations for the promotion of the literature and high culture of particular nations, such as the Dante Alighieri Society, are certainly approved of by those who care about them. Ethnic folk festivals are acceptable to Australians as well as the establishment of self-help welfare societies by ethnic communities. On the other hand, the evidence of public opinion suggests that it is only the apathy and passivity of the public that has left largely unchallenged such pluralistic structures as ethnic social and sporting clubs, ethnic schools, national patriotic organisations and ethnic radio. Fortunately, Australian leaders, in the main, support these, but the majority of the public are not really sympathetic. The leaders can help to broaden and even change public opinion, but they cannot completely ignore it in a democratic society.

Concluding Comments on Multiculturalism

To sum up, while there has developed in Australia a certain degree of acceptance of diversity and tolerance of unconventional styles, there are still distinct limitations to this, especially when it raises questions of separation. Clearly, the vast majority of the population would like to see more mixing. There is a belief which, as we have seen, is fairly well founded that mixing together promotes better relations, excepting where there is inferiority or rivalry, or where there is inability to communicate. Participation by immigrants in general community voluntary organisations and social institutions will help those relations. Both Australians and immigrants have on obligation to help this come about. I refer, for example, to such things as school committees, trade union meetings, religious and welfare organisations, political parties, sporting bodies, etc. But there are three most important qualifications that I would like to make. First, the demand for more participation must be matched by a positive attempt by the established leaders in these organisations to encourage and promote participation by immigrants, using all reasonable methods, including the use of relevant migrant languages. Second, greater participation can come about only if the immigrants are respected for what they are, and not treated as an inferior class of human beings. This requirement places a responsibility on the opinion climate, in which the education system and the media play vital roles.

The third qualification is that a drive for participation by immigrants should not occur at the expense of their ethnic identity or their own community structures, and their cultural and personal support systems.

These are needed by immigrants to help them maintain their social identity and self-respect. A demand for premature integration is neither humane or practical. The ethnic institutions should be accepted as part of the life of Australia – but, at the same time, the immigrants should try to spread themselves into activities that at least match the civic and community involvement of other Australians of the same occupational and educational levels.

I predict that, in the long run, the integration of the present immigrant ethnic peoples in Australia will proceed in the same way as it has gone with the Irish and the Germans in the past, and perhaps it will happen at a faster pace. But it is a gradual process, and there can be tensions on the way. The question of how much and what type of pluralism is appropriate still needs to be spelled out in more concrete detail by its advocates, with consideration of the possible effects on the immigrants and on Australian society of the various alternatives. There is a real danger that if Australian society is divided into small, tightly knit, exclusive units, resentment will arise from misunderstanding and indeed from real or perceived mutual discrimination. I applaud heterogeneity, the many within the one, but I am aware that possible confrontation and between sections of the community is not to the long-term benefit of the immigrants or of Australia.

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PART III

Assessment and Placement of Ethnic Minorities

PART III

Introduction

The problems of assessing and placing ethnic minorities in the school systems of host countries have been difficult and elusive. In the opening chapter of this part, Ronald J. Samuda introduces the topic by reference to experiences and observations based on his training and teaching in Great Britain. Against such a backdrop, Samuda proceeds to compare the British approach with the situation in the United States and Canada. This is a chapter based on personal experience and information gleaned by the author in working closely with the school systems of Miami Dade, Metropolitan Toronto, and informed by the findings of recent research conducted in the schools of Ontario. The issues and implications are drawn from that research survey to demonstrate the pitfalls and directions for a more informed program of assessment and placement of ethnic minorities in the schools.

In the second chapter, Peter J. Gamlin deals with the fundamental proposition that what seems commonplace in one cultural setting may require prior learning and cognitive skills that are alien to those of a different culture. Gamlin proceeds to put the field of cognitive strategies in context by reference to some of the outstanding experts who employ the test-train-test methodology within a kind of Piagetian framework. Gamlin then demonstrates that static measures of intelligence are merely suggestive, while the instructional mode is more likely to reveal the potential to learn.

Robert B. MacIntyre's chapter is concerned with the conceptual and practical problems in identifying specific learning impairments in sociocultural minority children. He summarizes the definitions of learning definitions in order to indicate the impact that these definitions have on the assessment of minority children. MacIntyre then discusses the relationship between identification procedures and educational programming and examines specific evaluation procedures in terms of their applicability to ethnic minority students. Finally, he presents us with his perspectives and projections for needed modification and innovations in the assessment process in order to ensure that the minority child be given a fair chance to be appropriately evaluated and placed in the school system.

Sidney H. Irvine's paper represents a *tour de force* of the essential issues and trends in the field of intercultural testing and assessment. His approach to the topic is broad, and he marshals his arguments with a certain nicety and informed style calling for rationality rather than politics in the restoration of tests to those members of the social science profession who work with minorities and culture-alien groups. The unique feature of this chapter is that it places testing in a global context and emphasizes the need for the incorporation of the research findings of cross-cultural psychology into the current practice of testing and assessing ethnic minorities within a culturally diverse environment.

Current Methods in the Assessment of Minorities: A Critique

Ronald J. Samuda

The problems of placing and programming ethnic minority students have become matters of universal concern affecting almost all industrial countries of Europe, North America, and Australia. More particularly, the press of Third World people from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean – especially in the last 25 years – has exacerbated the dilemma of educators in Canada, the U.S., Australia, Britain, Germany, and France, and, to a lesser extent, in such unlikely countries as Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. The issues of assessment and placement of ethnic minorities are of central importance particularly in the United States and Canada which have been the main targets of immigrant settlement within the past three decades. Thus, the problems of accomodating immigrant students are of primary importance for counsellors and teachers in almost all industrialized countries.

Assessment and Placement in Britain

A brief mention of the situation in Great Britain should help set the stage and focus attention on the essential perspectives I would like to emphasize in this paper. There was a time when I could have dealt more intimately with the assessment practices in that country where the "Eleven Plus" testing programs were required to augment a school system established by the Butler Act of 1944 to provide a neat and tidy way of sorting out British children into one or other of the three kinds of

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Ronald J. Samuda, Ph. D., is Professor in the Area of Psychology and Philosophy at the Faculty of Education of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

schools – Secondary Modern, Secondary Technical and Secondary Grammar – and into categories of ability levels which the English educators referred to as "streams" within the curricular organization of some schools.

I remember well my experiences as a teacher in Salford, Lancashire, when I was part of that beehive of teachers who, year by year, would administer and handscore examinations in the areas of English, mathematics, and academic aptitude. It was on the basis of such test results, along with teacher recommendations, that students were then classified into a three-tiered system of education that simulated, bolstered, and emphasized the socio-economic and hierarchical class divisions and barriers that constitute British society. We knew, as a foregone conclusion, that as a rule children from the slums of Lower Broughton would never make it into the Grammar Schools. They would be more likely to end up in the lower streams of the Secondary Modern institutions, although occasionally one or two would squeak into the Technical School where he might have the chance of being trained to become a draftsman or technician.

In those years before the Comprehensive School became popular, and throughout five years of teaching, I can remember only a few students ever accomplishing the fact of entering the Grammar School where, if later opportunities presented themselves, and by some fluke of circumstances, the doors of a university might open for them. In other words, the class system of Great Britain was guaranteed to perpetuate itself as a result of the use of assessment strategies which despite their apparent scientific facade were mainly responsible for keeping the workers in their place and for providing a kind of rationale for the obvious social, economic, and occupational strata of British society.

It goes without saying that such conditions would be more representative of the milieu of the fifties when we were so sure than an I.Q. could tell us the permanent capability of an individual's potential to learn, and when we knew that intelligence was fixed and determined by the genes passed on by parents and their forebears. Yet, the relatively recent publications of Judith Haynes and Bernard Coard, dealing mainly with the assessment and education of ethnic minority immigrant children in Britain, would leave the impression that the orientation of social and economic class barriers – and the part played by assessment to keep those cleavages in place – have now been compounded by the additional factors of racial, cultural, and ethnic minority differences pertaining particularly to the non-white immigrant students from the Third World countries where British influence was once supreme.

Despite changes in the past three decades since I taught in Lancashire, and despite the anti-test publicity and the increasing awareness of problems and inequities associated with the use of tests, things do not seem to have changed all that much in Britain. It would appear that standardized tests are still being used by many psychologists and teachers to appraise the learning potential of ethnic minority students. Some social scientists and educators interpret differences between the test results of English majority children and that of the lower scores of non-white Third World immigrant students as underscoring and augmenting the racist political stance of Enoch Powell and his ilk. But even more devastating for minority students is the use of tests to place them in special education classes or special schools for the mentally retarded. Similarly, tests have been used consistently to justify the overwhelming proportion of ethnic minority immigrant children in classes that are largely vocationally oriented towards blue-collar occupations. Thus, not unlike the findings of Jane Mercer and her research team from Riverside, California, ethnic minority students have been overwhelmingly placed in schools and classes designed for those who could only profit from a minimally stimulating curricular program directly resulting from the labelling and consequent placement in the categories of the mentally retarded or sub-normal. To a large extent, assessment procedures and instruments have been responsible for supporting class barriers, and as well for justifying the kind of racial and genetic interpretations of multiethnic differences in test results which stemmed from the very initiator of individual psychology and mental tests in Britain – none other than the celebrated Sir Francis Galton.

Assessment and Placement in North America

Lest we educators and psychologists employed in North America should tend to become smug by such allusions to the class and ethnocultural anomalies of Britain, I should like in passing to refer briefly to the California court case of Larry P. versus Wilson Riles, in which it was found that black children were being placed in classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of assessment procedures totally unsuitable for their ethnocultural background. That case is now so well known that I hardly need deal with it in any further detail (see Samuda, 1975). Instead, I should like now to focus attention on two regions that I have come to know reasonably well, namely, the province of Ontario in Canada and the Greater Miami area of South Florida.

Over the past 25 years, considerable infusions of ethnic minority immigrants into those regions have created a situation even more acute than that of Britain. The rapid and unprecedented growth of new immigrants from radically different ethnic and cultural backgrounds have created a nightmare for the administrators of Metropolitan Toronto and Dade County alike. Let me hasten to add, at the outset, that I am aware of the differences in the causes and composition of immigration occurring within the two regions; but, despite those differences, the job of placement and programming and of applying assessment procedures for immigrant students remain relatively similar in the two areas.

South Florida has been inundated by a massive influx of over half a million Cubans since the Castro regime came to power in the late sixties, and – in more recent years – we have witnessed the traumatic effects on the schools and social services of Greater Miami resulting from the sudden arrival of over one hundred thousand people from Mariel Bay. Similarly, the sad and gruesome picture of dead Haitians washed up on the pleasure beaches of Fort Lauderdale – amidst affluent condominiums – dramatically highlighted the plight of those impoverished and desperate Creole-speaking Caribbean refugees. For the educational system, the steady inflow of Haitians has resulted in an estimated 40,000 newly arrived and radically atypical settlers. It is the lot of the Dade County educational system and, to a lesser extent, that of neighbouring county boards like Broward in South Florida to accommodate large numbers of Hispanic and Haitian children in addition to the lesser but significant numbers of immigrants from places like Vietnam, Pakistan, and Russia.

In Canada, non-restrictive immigration policies over the past twenty years, and the government's acceptance of an official multicultural stance, has led to two decades of massive expansion in ethnic minority immigrants from Asia, the Caribbean, and Africa. Such multiethnic newcomers have compounded the cultural mosaic of a country largely consisting of people whose roots lie in the countries of Europe, and where the English and French charter groups still predominate. Although immigrant settlement has affected all provinces and especially the large cities like Montreal and Vancouver, the effects on the schools have been most pronounced in the most popular province – Ontario, and on the main target city of immigrant residence – Toronto.

In one ten-year period (1968 to 1978), over 300,000 settlers arrived in Canada from India and Pakistan, and over 100,000 came from the West Indies, whilst 60,000 migrated from Africa. The foreign-born population in the city of Toronto rose from 31 percent in 1951 to 42 percent in

1961 to almost 44 percent in 1971, and by the beginning of the eighties more than half the students served by the Toronto Board of Education came from homes with an ethnic background other than that of the dominant culture. Thus, there are remarkable similarities in the challenges faced by the school boards and the professional educators in London, England, in Greater Miami, Florida, and in Toronto, Ontario.

Accommodating Ethnic Minority Students in the Schools of Ontario

What are the major difficulties in placing and programming ethnic minority students? The basic answer is related to the orientation of schools from several perspectives. In the first place, those who run the schools – middle-class teachers – are themselves products of a pedagogical arrangement which contains within itself the endemic values, attitudes, and expectations that constitute the majority-oriented social norms. In the second place, socioeconomic privilege and cultural identification with the values, language, and learning patterns in the school, bestow upon the children of the well-to-do majority distinct advantages. Early conditioning within the home and the environmental influences (of the kind Richard Wolfe has documented in his research) provide, for some students, an almost perfect correlation between home and school and an easy transition into the milieu and curricular arrangement of the school. Is it any wonder that such students achieve well? They score well on tests of academic aptitude and they fulfill that promise in the correlation with their academic achievement. But for those whose environmental circumstances have been different – socially, economically, linguistically, and/or culturally – there is little accomodation in terms of curriculum programming. Such students are often regarded as disadvantaged, deprived, or handicapped. In any event, there is frequent the implicit connotation of relative and endemic deficit for those students who fail to exhibit the standards of behaviour and academic levels of achievement, especially in the skills of literacy.

In our research into the placement and testing of minorities in Ontario (Samuda, Crawford, Phillips & Tinglin, 1980), we found that the term "Special Education" had become a kind of catch-all. A whole miscellany of programs supposedly cater to students who are intellectually sub-normal, physically or psychologically handicapped, or who suffer from specific learning disability like dyslexia. In many school systems, Special Education represented the administration's attempt to accommodate all the students who are "different" in one way or another. It is into that general category that the traditional school system would place the ethnic minority student who fails to keep pace with his majority counterpart. That is not to say that there are not minority students who are biologically, physiologically, or neurologically impaired. Unfortunately, the concept of assessment and especially placement into special education classes have been so abused that parents have come to fear the stigmatizing labels which invariably go with such placement, especially when the connotation of retardation in any form is implied. The different-ergo-deficit model is a reality, though increasingly less so, in the placement of minority children in England, in Canada, and in the United States.

The need to accommodate ethnic minority immigrants has compounded the difficulties; but it has also illuminated the school's impotence to deal with those students who veer from an ethnocentric norm. Essentially, we are still faced with finding ways of identifying the atypical individual's level of academic potential and achievement in order to place him/her into a particular niche within the system.

In our attempts to cope with this new phenomenon, we will need to seek solutions for more than the problems of assessment and placement. We must also face the fact that the teachers themselves have been trained in the traditional pedagogical mode which emphasizes and perpetuates a view of society which is essentially ethnocentric. Educators, whether administrators, counsellors, or teachers, have been trained to match the student to the system.

In our Ontario study of assessment and placement practices, we were often told by professionals, "We treat them all alike," which was interpreted to mean that students were treated alike regardless of their ethnicity. It was difficult to imagine how that could be, especially for those who spoke little or no English. Clearly, teachers have been trained to value the majority culture; seldom were they ever provided with professional experiences which would encourage, enhance, and optimize a perspective of cultural pluralism. How, then, can they be expected to cope with a new immigrant student population which presents special pedagogical problems because of radical and obvious differences in language, customs, motivational patterns, nonverbal communication, and ways of coping with the world.

Research Results from Ontario

In the face of such anomalies, referred to above, school systems and teacher-training institutions persist in using methods and instruments which are irrelevant and redundant for a multiethnic society. In studying the problems of ethnic minority placement in Ontario schools (Samuda et al., 1980), we found that 90 percent of the responses from educators at both the board and school levels within the areas of high ethnic concentration listed assessment of students, aged 11 to 15, and lack of documents to be their main cause for concern in accommodating the new Canadian minority immigrant. How to place a student of 16 or 17 arriving from Pakistan or the Azores, with no comparable form of school transfer papers, who speaks little or no English, and whose level of academic achievement cannot be measured by any of the normal battery of tests presents the principal dilemma in the attempt to accommodate the new Canadian immigrant minority. To place him/her in an elementary school would be obviously unfair, and yet to place him/her in an academic class or level matched to age presents other problems. Often the student comes from a rural area and has not attended school on a regular basis for several years – yet, suddenly, he must adjust to a new country, learn a new language, learn to relate in new ways to what is often a hostile environment, and fit into a pattern in which he can often find neither models nor peers to emulate.

When we asked the respondents to suggest alternative approaches for new or different programs and methods which might improve the accuracy and quality of such student placements, some felt that school transfer documentation should be made mandatory for all immigrant students. Others suggested the establishment of reception classes for the newcomer. A significant proportion (21 percent) of the teachers in the boards of high ethnic minority concentration favoured a program of assimilation for all such immigrant students, whilst others recommended that assimilation should take the form of holding centers for culturalizing students, screening of students before entering schools, and indicating in general a resentment that the school should have to cope with such students. The clear implication was that it was the duty of the immigrant to adopt Canadian ways, to become part of the melting pot, and to assimilate as quickly as possible into the dominant majority culture. Such attitudes depart sharply from the Canadian multicultural policy of the federal government.

In response to our structured questions, many teachers and administrators recommended a more careful screening of immigrants by immigration authorities, mandatory culturalization of such children at the pre-school level, total immersion classes in the English language, more resource staff, more teachers, more guidance counsellors, more special education classes, more special education teachers, better tests with local norms, culture-free tests, and testing in the mother tongue. In the areas of low and medium concentration of ethnic minorities the research team could identify attitudes of accommodation demonstrated by the responses to promote racial harmony, hire ethnic staff and sensitize staff; in those areas where the number of ethnic minority students became increasingly more visible in the schools, the emphasis shifted from the need of the school to accommodate the culturally different, to one which would require the student to adapt in the shortest possible time, and to enter the institution equipped to deal with a regular curriculum created for "normal" students.

Issues and Implications Resulting from the Ontario Research

I should like to examine the issues and implications of those responses given by teachers and administrators in Ontario as alternative solutions to the problems of assessment, testing, counselling, and placement of ethnic minority students in the schools. These issues would seem to be mainly related to (1) the educational assumptions underlying teacher-training and cross-cultural assessment; (2) the validity of assessment procedures; (3) alternatives to assessment and placement of ethnic minorities in the schools.

Educational Assumptions

Providing more teachers in the schools to cope with ethnic minorities cannot accommodate the needs of those students. The major problem exists in the way in which those teachers are trained and in the educational assumptions underlying teacher-training and cross-cultural assessment. Let us not forget that up until the Second World War especially, all European and North American countries as well as certain Asian countries like Japan tended to foster and encourage a philosophy of education which was essentially ethnocentric. Values, attitudes, language, and folkways of the dominant group was accepted as the norm for all, and minorities were expected to subjugate themselves to that set of norms. Despite the attempts of the federal government of Canada and the movements in Australia, the United States, and Britain toward some degree of multiculturalism in education, the majority of the teachers practising in the schools still retain the kind of assimilationist philosophy which would require the student to fit into the established curriculum of the school.

Psychological and educational testing has been tied to the assumptions underlying that assimilationist ethnocentric view of society. Such assumptions lie at the root of the training of teachers within the traditional mode; they pervade the placement in the schools; and those residual attitudes spill over into the use and interpretations of tests built by middle-class psychologists and normed on the middle-class curriculum of the schools.

The consequence has been that the majority of the assessment and placement procedures in use spring from the attempt to identify causal factors or basic disorders within the learners' cognitive process. They involve analysis of present functioning without concern for the etiology or prognosis. Thus, teachers have been encouraged to use the results of I.Q. and aptitude tests as the excuses for poor training especially in the case of those children who belong to an ethnic minority background or who share in the culture of poverty.

A second major problem exists in the indadequate validity of common instruments used with children who come from an ethnic minority background. Tests and procedures have been selected and used without a firm theoretical and empirical base and test results have been interpreted as though important clues to educational programming resided in the test results themselves. A recent study from Ontario (MacIntyre, Keeton & Agard, 1980) seriously criticized the use of such techniques of diagnosis as the Bender Visual Perception, the Wepman Auditory Discrimination Test, and the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, as inadequate for diagnosing learning disabilities among children in general. Coles (1978) concluded that there was little empirical support for the tests and wondered why they were still being used for the purpose of drawing conclusions about learning disability and the labelling of students. Just as there is no one valid psychological test of a learning disability, there can be no one test that can be considered to be culture-free. Whilst it is true that standardized tests do predict school achievement, the reason is that the tests tap the same kind of developed abilities and learning style (skills, knowledge, and experience) which are directly related to the subjects taught.

Neither culturally relative assessment nor culturally specific assessment can achieve very much for the placement of ethnic minorities. Assessment, if it is to be viable, must be related to the prescription and curriculum program for the individual student.

Toward an Informed Set of Assessment Procedures

The essential purpose for administering tests of any kind should be to provide relevant and prescriptive information which would assist the teacher to facilitate the students' learning within the educational environment. Psychoeducational assessment which focuses upon the cause of disability and on the remediation of that condition along the lines of the deficit model are pedagogically unsound, humiliating for the student, and frustrating for the teacher. Proper assessment cannot occur without considering the educational background, the home and classroom context from which the child is drawn, and/or the effect of previous environmental and cultural influences upon the child's overall functioning.

Reschly (1981) has pinpointed several simplistic non-solutions; these include: (1) the banning of I.Q. tests without addressing the educational failure of students; (2) the use of pluralistic norms with conventional tests unrelated to programming and remediation; (3) the use of I.Q. tests as screening and placement devices which would lead to a disproportionate classification of minorities in special education classes with resultant ineffective programming. The most recent movements in the education of minorities calls for reform in the assessment and classification procedures as a concomitant and integral prerequisite to curricular programming for ethnic minority students.

Traditional classifications based on the presumption of internal pathology or deficits should be abandoned. Unless for those very obvious and demonstrably evident cases of sub-normal physiologically based pathology, such labels as mental retardation should never be applied, and, instead, classes should be labelled in relation to the perceived needs of students in such terms as "English as a Second Language" or "special subject programs for low achieving students." But such reforms should not be merely cosmetic; they should involve a serious effort in terms of in-service education for all teachers in urban, bilingual, and minority education.

The concept of comprehensive individual assessment would stress the need for a broad variety of information prior to making diagnostic decisions (Reschly 1981; Scarr 1981; Salvia & Ysseldyke 1978). The placement of minority students would require a team approach involving some measure of acculturation, adaptive behavior, primary language (or language dominance), social, economic, and ethnocultural background. A comprehensive assessment program would be geared to provide an accurate appraisal of the students' present level and mode of functioning within the context of his cultural background and experience. It would identify the specific needs of the individual as well as focussing upon the particular assets and strenghts he brings to the academic situation so as to form the basis on which new skills can be developed. Since it would go hand-in-glove with placement and programming, assessment would necessarily be an ongoing process, helping to monitor and to reinforce academic progress and/or cognitive restructuring.

Such a comprehensive assessment system would involve a team including the teacher, school administrator, counsellor, or other professionals providing data through observation, consultation, and formal testing procedures. Most important is that, in a humane and democratic society, it is the prior right of parents to become an integral part of the decision-making process. There are two other special characteristics to this scheme: (1) special education should be the very last option; (2) psychological assessment should come last after all other data have been collected, and so that their results can be interpreted in the light of comprehensive and vital background information. Finally, the data for the comprehensive assessment portfolio would be obtained from (1) observational data, (2) other data available, (3) language dominance, (4) educational assessment data, (5) sensory-motor and/or psycholinguistic data, (6) adaptive behavior data, (7) medical and/or developmental data, (8) personality assessment data, including self-report, and (9) intellectual assessment data.

Specific descriptive data and validation criteria are provided for a whole range of tests and alternative information-gathering methods especially in such works as Sattler (1974), and Salvia and Ysseldyke (1978). Further in-depth familiarity with the available instruments may require a special course in "non-biased cross-cultural assessment," of the kind being espoused in the paper by Chodzinski and Samuda.

In general terms, then, psychometric tests – far from being the instruments of discrimination and social injustice in education and employment – can become a boon for those who differ from the middle-class mainstream. Testing can become a source of pride for those teachers who are struggling to cope with the atypical youngster in providing the means whereby effective pedagogy can take the place of teacher frustration and student despair.

Finally, I would like to underscore what Garcia (1981, p. 1180) has emphasized, viz. that single scores and dimensions should be deemed invalid as true representations of the minority individual's performance. If the purpose of testing is to diagnose and augment the individual's achievement, then what teachers need are profiles bearing some semblance to the individual's brain functions and having some relationship to concomitant curricular programs. It goes without saying that tests will have to be repeated to determine changes in the individual's profile. And as we continue to identify and refine the factors and information-processing involved in each subject-area or cognitive structure, we can match the proper learning materials and procedures to the perceived needs of the individual student.

MacIntyre et al. (1980) reminded us that assessment should ultimately be a term process geared to serve the educational program of the individual. It must, in the end, be the sum of judgments and assessments by a group of educational professionals who must ultimately use their judgment in determining the type and meaning of data which will have relevance for the education of the child. Moreover, the quality of assessment will ultimately depend upon the competence of the professionals in evaluating test protocols to forecast the child's educational potential.

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Cognitive Strategies in Cognitive Assessments: An Intercultural Perspective

Peter J. Gamlin

There is ample evidence that tasks commonplace in one cultural milieu may require prior learning and the exercise of cognitive skills that are "foreign" to those in a different culture. While a tourist will applaud these individual cultural differences and extol the merits of certain practices and accomplishments, a psychologist concerned with assessing and counselling "minority groups" is often enjoined to make a distinction between an individual's "competence" and his or her "performance." There is considerable data suggesting that a sharp distinction between competence and performance is artifactual, resulting more from the definitions of these terms rather than our ability to actually document competence/performance distinctions. Even more questionable are the methods used to differentiate individual behaviours across cultures. Succinctly, we cannot separate competence or "intelligence" from cultural practice. Indeed, a defensible argument can be made for describing the competence/performance "issue" as a red herring[1].

The potential to learn is influenced by characteristics unique to both the individual and specific task contexts. Although a worthwhile question is to what extent significant variance in performance is accounted

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[1] The more interesting question concerns the interaction between person and task-context variables. With respect to potential to learn, the objective is to document individuals' strengths, both in terms of access to certain cognitive skills and also in terms of application of these skills in various task contexts. Of particular importance here is the issue of the modifiability of "intelligence" which is very strongly influenced by age and cultural context (see Anastasi, 1983).

Peter J. Gamlin, Ph. D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Applied Psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

for by cultural influence, a perusal of the literature (e.g., Brislin, 1983; LCHC, 1982) quickly establishes that our knowledge base (including theory) with respect to culture, individual differences and the potential to learn is essentially bankrupt[2].

This problem has been somewhat ameliorated by the conceptual analysis advocated by several investigators (see Note 2). I will illustrate this approach by providing a description of the potential to learn which has implications for theory (theories of intelligence) and practice (application across mainstream and "minority groups"). I believe a possible resolution to the dilemma of cultural relativism lies in Vygotsky's (1978) construct of "the zone of proximal development" (see also Campione, Brown & Ferrara, 1982; LCHC, 1982). On this account, "potential" is described as the individual's ability to benefit from instruction (Campione et al., 1982). Culturally appropriate tasks, it is argued, can be constructed to yield individual differences with respect to "gain" scores. These kinds of data will enable counsellors and special education consultants to recommend appropriate programs of instruction and suggest the means towards effective interpersonal communication, stressing client strengths and, in particular, the client's potential to learn.

The Zone of Proximal Development

Vygotsky (1978, p. 86) defines the zone of proximal (or potential) development as

> the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by individual problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers.

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[2] Consider as example the conflicting claims for the System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment (SOMPA). Although the objectives of SOMPA are laudable since few would argue against racially and culturally non-discriminatory assessment (see Mercer, 1979), the studies reported in the literature show mixed results. For example, Johnson and Danley (1981) report that SOMPA is not a superior instrument for predicting learning potential in a school environment. On the other hand, Reschly (1981) demonstrates that using SOMPA sharply reduced the number and percentage of children eligible for mild mental retardation classification for children from all four socio-cultural groups included in his study. A more promising approach for describing learning potential can be found in those investigations which consider both individual differences and task environments (see Campione, Brown & Ferrara, 1982; LCHC, 1982; Siegler & Richards, 1982; Siegler, 1983).

A biological metaphor is used to describe learning (see also Piaget, 1970). The potential to learn is awakened. The processes that are awakened are

> functions that will mature tomorrow but are in the embryonic state. These functions could be termed the "buds" or "flowers" rather than the "fruits" of development. The actual developmental level characterizes mental development retrospectively, while the zone of proximal development characterizes mental development prospectively (pp. 86–87).

The essential feature of learning for Vygotsky is that it creates the zone of proximal development, and this will occur only, and for Vygotsky (1978, p. 90) this is a key issue,

> when the child is interacting with people in his environment and in cooperation with his peers. Once these processes are internalized, they become part of the child's independent developmental achievement.

There are several implications for the development of assessment procedures that can be drawn from Vygotsky's theory. First, the hallmark of developmental achievement is realized when the child has internalized those critical thinking skills (nurtured by knowledgeable adult interaction) that guarantee the emergence of personal planning. Therefore, both theory and assessment need to describe this kind of behaviour. Second, since Vygotsky stresses that the fundamental process of development is the gradual internalization and personalization of what was originally a social activity, the quality of the adult-child interaction in the assessment situation is of utmost importance. Third, although not stressed by Vygotsky, it would seem that the potential to learn is neither exhausted in early childhood nor during the period of formal schooling, but instead is fundamental to learning at any age.

Application of Vygotsky's Theory

Figure 1 shows two tasks that assess children's similarity judgments in the first of seven types of thinking that constitute an open-ended set of holistic thinking skills (see below and Gamlin & Robertson, 1979; Gamlin, 1981). Children are asked to consider the target as well as the entire array of items in order to choose one item that is most like the target. Prior to the presentation of the tasks, children are assessed for their understanding of the words most and fewest. Either of the dog tasks can be used as a horizontal transfer task. By using the task analysis shown in Figure 2, it is possible to provide a series of structured hints in the form of questions directed to the children. Gain scores are derived by considering the children's responses to these questions in the transfer task and comparing this performance with that obtained on the prior task.

Figure 1
Dog Tasks

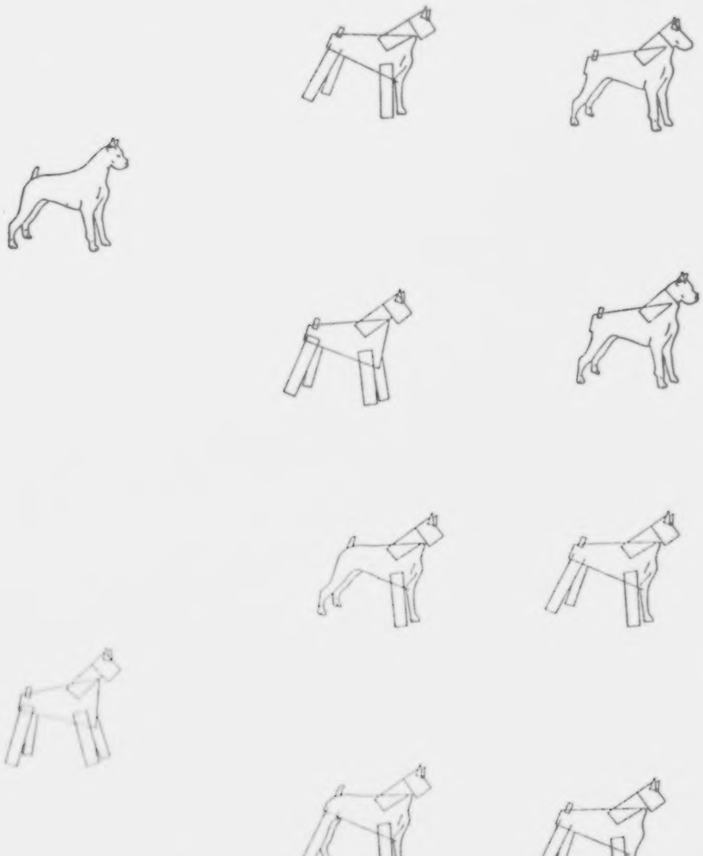
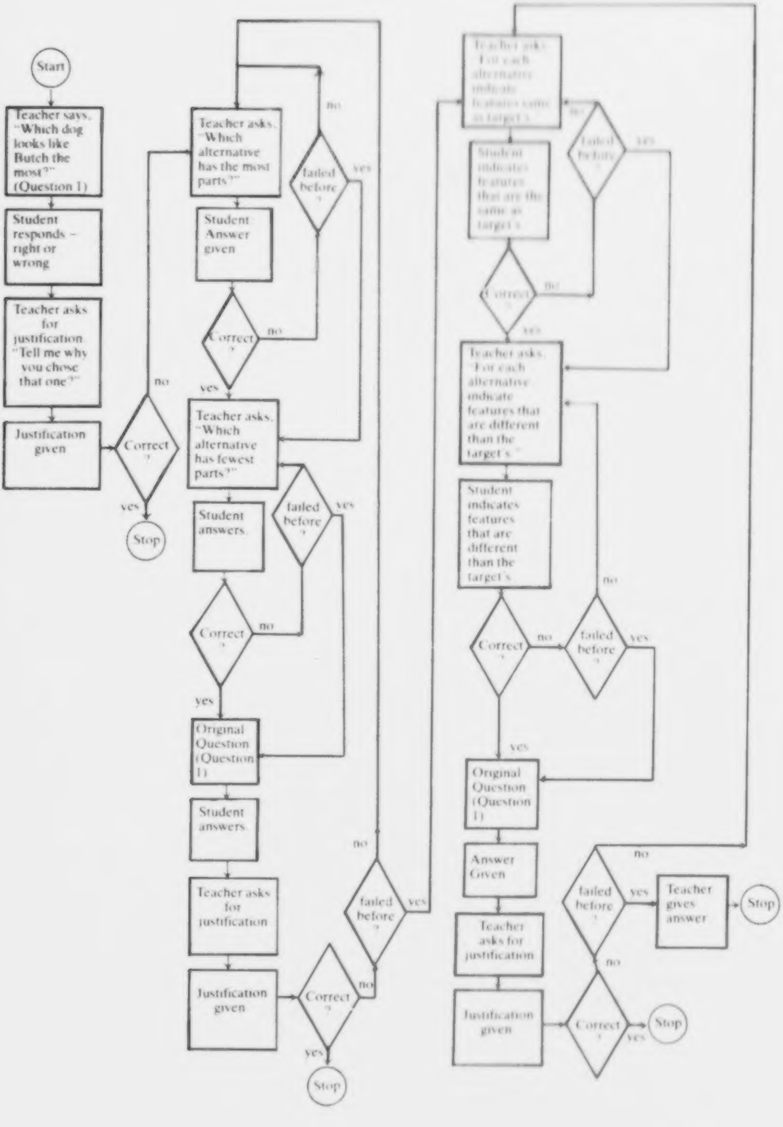


Figure 2
Analysis of Dog Task


Start
Teacher says, "Which dog looks like Butch the most?" (Question 1)
Student responds – right or wrong
Teacher asks for justification. "Tell me why you chose that one?"
Justification given
Correct ?
no
yes
Stop
Teacher asks, "Which alternative has the most parts?"
Student Answer given
Correct ?
no
yes
failed before ?
no
yes
Teacher asks, "Which alternative has fewest parts?"
Student answers.
Correct ?
no
yes
failed before ?
yes
Original Question (Question 1)
Student answers.
Teacher asks for justification
Justification given
Correct ?
no
yes
Stop
failed before ?
no
yes
Teacher asks, "For each alternative indicate features same as target's."
Student indicates features that are the same as target's.
Correct ?
no
yes
failed before ?
no
yes
Teacher asks, "For each alternative indicate features that are different than the target's."
Student indicates features that are different than the target's.
Correct ?
no
yes
failed before ?
no
yes
Original Question (Question 1)
Answer Given
Teacher asks for justification
Justification given
Correct ?
yes
Stop
no
failed before ?
no
yes
Teacher gives answer
Stop

The Potential to Learn and Training

From the previous section, it should be clear that the approach advocated here is similar to that proposed by Campione et al. (1982). Process-oriented task analyses are performed on test items and transfer tasks. The objective is to delimit those processes which are used when children employ personal plans or autocritical skills, since these kinds of thinking skills predict well for initial learning and flexible (broad-band) transfer to similar tasks. The prompts or aids are assessed with respect to their frequency across tasks. One would expect that the number of prompts would decrease across tasks, including far transfer tasks, as the child applies prior learning across similar tasks. By evaluating how well children are able to use these structural hints, we are able to describe how much "gain" is shown across these tasks. In this way, we begin to define a particular child's zone of potential development.

Task-analytic procedures are crucial to the success of this assessment procedure. In agreement with Campione et al. (1982) and Sternberg (1983)

> We would argue that testing the zone of proximal development as a means of diagnosis requires a detailed analysis of a suitable set of cognitive tasks and detailed task analysis of possible transfer probes. Without this information, it would be difficult to select either the series of graduated aids for the original learning task or suitable methods for assessing the speed and efficiency of transfer. (Campione et al., 1982, pp. 441–442)

A point here that requires additional emphasis is the method by which a possible set of cognitive tasks is selected. This is exactly where theory can be useful, particularly with respect to issues surrounding task difficulty (see on the Relation of Theory to Questions of Process below).

Feuerstein's (1969, 1980) Learning Potential Assessment Device (LPAD) also uses the testing-training and retesting paradigm. A task is presented initially without prompts, which means that children either succeed or do not succeed on their own. Subsequently, structured hints (graduated aids) are provided in training, followed by retesting on that task. Feuerstein works with disadvantaged Israeli adolescents and claims considerable success ("gains") using a training program that has adults guiding problem-solving activity by structuring the learning environment. In addition, Feuerstein has developed an intensive intervention curriculum, the IE program, to be used in conjunction with the LPAD (see Feuerstein, 1980; Haywood & Arbitman-Smith, 1981). Campione et al. (1982) suggest that the assessment paradigm, the test-train-test procedures, may be more important than the actual content of the IE program. For example, the IE materials are similar to IQ test items, which includes a systematic easy-to-hard sequence, involving analytic perception, comparisons, categorization, orientation in space, temporal relations, transitivity and use of part-whole relations. When training to the test in this fashion, it has been possible to demonstrate IQ gains on the very similar IQ test items.

Test-train-test procedures have also been used by Dasan, Lavallee and Reschitzki (1979a) in cross-cultural research. Working within a Piagetian framework, these researchers assume that there are real developmental differences associated with unique cultural experience. Dasan et al. (1979a) found that with a large number of Baoule (Ivory Coast) children, training improved performance between pre- and post-tests. These investigators argued that since the change (due to training) was slow, what was altered was the basic *competence* of these children as opposed to the effects of training "triggering" an already existing competence. Regardless of whether these speculations are correct, what these children learned transferred to other similar tasks, demonstrating that these children had the potential to learn the cognitive operations required to master these tasks. Although it is difficult to understand how speed of training can be related to having or not having the competence to learn the cognitive skills beforehand, it is significant that there is response variability along this dimension. It would seem equally plausible that task difficulty (as a function of familiarity with the cognitive operations involved) might account for the speed of acquiring these operations in training. In any case, the results of this study show the importance of test-train-test procedures for describing an individual's potential to learn (see also Dasan, Ngini & Lavallee, 1979b).

The Relation of Theory to Questions of Process

Most investigators who employ test-train-test procedures for assessing the potential to learn agree on several issues: (a) static measures of intelligence are merely "suggestive" of underlying competence, revealing only current performance which may be influenced by a variety of "performance" variables; (b) an instructional testing environment is more likely to reveal the potential to learn; (c) the ability to learn is governed by a Vygotsky-like notion of internalization proceeding from adult instruction to self-instruction including the ability, by way of planning, to transfer old skills and strategies to new situations. This latter behaviour, it is believed, requires the use of self-regulatory or autocritical skills.

The foregoing points of agreement imply a theory of intelligence which describes intelligent behaviour as that behaviour which is active, responsive to instruction, resulting in the formulation of plans that anticipate application to new situations; plans which are eminently susceptible to revision and are evaluated by general executive or metacognitive skills. Campione et al. (1982, p. 413) conclude that

> there is agreement that the more intelligent, the more phylogenetically advanced, or the more successful learner is the one who can manipulate his or her knowledge to achieve multiple access or transfer . . . Thus converging lines of evidence implicate learning and transfer mechanisms in general and executive decision making more specifically as central to views of intelligence.

A theory of intellectual development with these characteristics has been proposed (see Gamlin, 1975; Gamlin & Robertson, 1979; Djap, 1983; Bountrogianni, 1983). Examples of the tasks used to assess the first of seven types of thinking described in the theory are shown in Figure 1. From the task analysis (Figure 2), it should be clear that executive control skills are assessed as well as multiple access and more general metacognitive skills. In general, the child's ability to plan and self-correct is assessed across seven types of thinking that are hierarchically related. While space does not permit an elaboration of the theory (see Djap, 1983; Bountrogianni, 1983), considerable emphasis is given to describing how children make similarity judgments. From Figure 1, it is evident that for these tasks, similarity judgments are based upon the matching of features which can be observed objectively as well as upon the relative number of features contained in each of the target and item alternatives. As described in the theory, the types of thinking that develop later also make it possible for the individual to apply subjective criteria both within and between different domains in order to make similarity judgments. Cross-domain similarity judgments based on subjective criteria can be found in children's understanding of metaphor. Metaphor comprehension often requires the deliberate accessing of personal knowledge and the comparison of disparate but usually conventional domains (see Gamlin & Tramposch, 1982). That similarity judgments lie on an objective-subjective continuum has obvious implications for theories of transfer and, in particular, offers the possibility for indexing an individual's potential to learn. For example, as children increasingly become able to intentionally base their similarity judgments upon both objective and subjective criteria, so too will they become able to understand how the lessons learned on prior occasions transfer to new situations. This is a classic example of learning to learn via awareness. Furthermore, individuals are not only able to understand how new situations can be interpreted against old criteria, but they will also come to understand that similarity comparisons between conventional but disparate domains (as in metaphor) may also result in the emergence of a totally new idea. This is the synergy principle – that the whole is more than the sum of parts – resulting from radical or transcendent transfer, requiring high levels of auto-regulation and awareness. This kind of behaviour has also been called radically creative (Rothenberg & Hausman, 1976).

The implication for cross-cultural research and for research with developmentally delayed populations requires some emphasis. As Siegler and Richards (1982) point out, many of the "strategy" differences that have been reported might better be regarded as manifestations of differences in knowledge (see also Chi, 1981). Differences in experience or knowledge would have most impact on the ability of individuals to demonstrate transfer with respect to subjective criteria in making similarity judgments. Therefore, considerable attention must be given to the prerequisite knowledge base implied by the demands of the task. Indeed, the difficulty of a task can be determined by assessing the prerequisite prior experience and the type of critical thinking skill required to succeed on the task. This issue is particularly important for vertical transfer (the relation of training in a subskill to the subsequent acquisition of the superordinate skill of which it is a component) and theories of intelligence which describe types of thinking that are hierarchically related (Gagne, 1970). If one is to look for transfer effects between different types of thinking, it is crucial that prior learning effects be partialled out of the results. This should be clear, given that successful transfer requires the deliberate activation of prior knowledge to render novel tasks more familiar. Therefore, in the case of tasks that are novel and involve different types of thinking, it is essential that "rendering novel tasks more familiar" be understood as referring to the individual's attempt to generalize his or her thinking while the general context in which these tasks are embedded remains unchanged. For these and other reasons, the concept of vertical transfer is the subject of ongoing debate (Brainerd, 1978; Flavell, 1971; Markman, 1978; Siegler, 1981).

The Potential to Learn and Culture

From the foregoing discussion, the reader might correctly infer that I define potential to learn as the ability to deliberately activate prior knowledge and thinking skills to render novel situations more familiar. Furthermore, I take a radical position with respect to creativity in that I also define potential to learn as the ability to deliberately create similarity relationships between disparate domains of experience when the basis for these judgments of similarity cannot be found in a dictionary. I take this position as a consequence of our investigations of children's understanding of proverbs (Gamlin & Tramposch, 1982) including their written production of general schemata (Gamlin, 1983) which are essentially the morals of these proverbs. Indeed, I take the view that similarity judgments constitute the common mechanism underlying all schema formation. On this view, one might begin to investigate how individuals go about making similarity judgments across different cultural settings in cultural groups. Having taken this position, however, I would like to make the point that

> . . . if we are working in a culture where adults do not ask children known-answer questions, or where one-to-one dialogue with a strange adult is unknown, or where sleight of hand is a culturally valued practice, how are we to make the task familiar when it is, *because of differences in culturally organized contexts for thinking*, an unfamiliar form of interaction? (LCHC, 1982, p. 688)

Obviously one cannot investigate how people in different cultures make similarity judgments for a given task without taking into account the everyday activities of these people as a starting point for comparative analysis. One response to this dilemma requires that the investigator use training studies to render the tasks more familiar (Dasen et al., 1979a). The critical question concerns how much training is appropriate or, put another way, to decide when current levels of "performance" are truly reflective of an individual's "competence" for making the similarity judgments that fall on the objective-subjective continuum described above.

At present, there would seems to be a rather limited methodology available to make this kind of determination, since "similarity criteria" must be generated (presumably on the basis of task analysis) independently of any particular task so as to be applicable across horizontal and vertical transfer tasks. This is exactly where central processor constructs can be important since "similarity criteria" can describe the interaction of system components operating within any task environment or cultural setting. To this end, theories describing how individuals make similarity judgments are badly needed (see Ortony, 1979).

Notwithstanding this view, it would seem reasonable to insist that prior life experiences must affect component processes in the kinds of tasks employed by cognitive psychologists. Following Scribner and Cole (1981), LCHC (1982) propose a context-specific "bottom-up" theory to account for how one moves from function-specific contexts to general knowledge:

> Development is the acquisition of more and more general rules (or explanations or habits) that apply to a progressively larger set of specific domains of experience. (LCHC, 1982, p. 698)

In this view, it is the particular activities of people in different cultures that give rise to both lateral and vertical generalizations that determine how prior knowledge transfers to novel situations (see also Siegler & Richards, 1982; Siegler, 1983; Feldman, 1980; Fischer, 1980).

Rather than adopt either a central processor or a context-specific theory, it seems more reasonable to describe an individual's potential to learn taking into account aspects of both views. If, as suggested above, similarity judgments underlie all schema formation, then theories of similarity begin to describe process components that are common to people in every culture. However, if we adopt the strong position with respect to the context-specific theory, that most of our reasoning ability is tied to particular bodies of knowledge and not to more generalized reasoning skills (see also LCHC, 1982; Siegler & Richards, 1982), then it is possible to observe the effects of component processes on tasks that have been constructed as a result of observing individuals' day-to-day activities. We begin to see some of the interaction between these positions when individuals comment on the task with respect to whether the information is adequate for making "transfer" statements. For example, is task A like task B on the basis of both the thinking required *and* the content of the tasks? We "look for" analogy statements, then, that include implications for basic process (reasoning) components and analogy statements that refer to the specific context of the tasks. The procedures developed by Vygotsky (1978) to assess the zone of proximal development are clearly suited to this kind of investigation. In sum, by using probing procedures consisting of graduated hints and by using transfer tasks, it is possible to document those instances when individuals reflect upon the task(s) for purposes of comparing them for their similarities and differences. In this way, we begin to understand to what extent a next-higher level of correct generalization (a "gain") is a function of auto- or self-regulation which is independent of the particular tasks being considered (although the tasks could be used as instantiations of a reasoning principle), and to what extent a next-higher level of correct generalization is tied to the specific task context. Although we suspect that these processes are inextricably tied, it is both important and necessary to consider central-processor and context-specific variables when describing an individual's potential to learn. In this way, the assessment begins to describe the whole person both in terms of those processes which are common across individuals and also in terms of learning outcomes that are unique to the individual in task-specific contexts.

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Techniques for Identifying Learning-Impaired Minority Students

Robert B. MacIntyre

The assessment of learning impairment in minority students has its own set of confusions, definitional problems, and varied programming implications. While we can easily agree that children differ in their abilities and styles of learning, and that some of these differences may be related to cultural or social factors, it is not at all clear when such differences need to be considered disabilities or impairments.

In attempting to identify a condition or learning pattern in children, we should first ascertain the purpose for such identification. The major reason for identification of the learning disabled is to provide individual programs and system modifications to advance the individual's educational progress. In many jurisdictions special education programs are accessible and relatively well funded, and require that the students be certified as individually deviant in some way. Programs for immigrant, cultural minority, or low socioeconomic children may not be as well funded nor as extensive as these special education programs. Therefore, children whose difficulties in school may be primarily related to their sociocultural background, economic environment, or recent entrance into a new culture may be identified as learning disabled in order to get extra educational support.

It is within this context that the question of techniques for identifying learning disabilities among sociocultural minority groups arises. A prior question is whether or not we should identify minority students as learning impaired in view of the extensive concern over the effects of being labeled as deviant, learning disabled, educably retarded, slow

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Robert B. MacIntyre, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Special Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

learner etc. (Dunn, 1968; Guskin, Bartel & MacMillan, 1975; Hobbs, 1975). Such identification seems defensible only where intervention or remediation programs are available and likely to help the individual overcome the impairment. In cases where potentially effective educational programs for the learning impaired are scarce, geographically inconvenient, or likely to become permanent and self-limited placements, families might be better counselled to avoid the learning disability identification and insist on education which is appropriate for their particular sociocultural group.

Learning Impairment

Once we accept that the major purpose for identifying those who may have a learning impairment is to provide an appropriate educational program, our definitions of learning disabilities, our identification techniques, and our remediation procedures become an interwined pattern.

Learning impairment is variously defined in the differing educational codes of the countries, provinces, and states which recognize this as a unique category. Most definitions place the locus of the impairment in the individual rather than in the interaction between the individual and the learning environment or even the learning environment itself. Two current examples of official definitions are typical:

> Learning disabilities [are defined as] disorders in one or more of the processes involved in understanding or using symbols or spoken language. The disorders result in a significant discrepancy between academic achievement and assessed intellectual ability . . . with deficits in at least one of the following areas: receptive language . . . language processing . . . The definition does not include children who have learning problems which are primarily the result of . . . environmental, cultural or economic disadvantage. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1978, p. 2)

> "Specific learning disability" means a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using language, spoken or written, which may manifest itself in an imperfect ability to listen, think, speak, read, write, spell, or to do mathematical calculations . . . The term does not include children who have learning problems which are primarily the result of . . . environmental, cultural or economic disadvantage. (Federal Register, December 29, 1977)

While these definitions differ in their specification of the actual learning processes which are affected, they share three essential elements: They posit a disparity between ability and achievement, emphasize dysfunction in a supposedly basic learning process, and exclude individuals who might be culturally or economically disadvantaged.

Discrepancy between ability and achievement is not an easy characteristic to demonstrate in assessment. At any point in time we have only the observation of present behaviour and, perhaps, the records of past behaviour with which to work. Statements about ability or potential are always inferences drawn from some observation of current functioning and can never be directly measured. In practice the most common approach to examining the ability-achievement discrepancy is to accept an individual IQ test, usually the WISC-R, as an estimate of "ability" and some standardized achievement test or local indication of school progress as a measure of achievement. Repeated studies have shown that sociocultural minority immigrant and bilingual children do poorly in IQ tests and on the verbal sections in particular (Cole, 1981; Mercer, 1975; Oakland, 1977; Samuda, 1975; Sattler, 1982). Comparing the IQ and achievement test scores of these children becomes a comparison of two measures of acculturation to the dominant and school cultures.

Dysfunctional learning processes are not any easier to define and identify. At a time when learning problems were thought to be heavily affected by perceptual impairments, we developed or adopted a variety of visual-perceptual copying tasks (Bender, 1968; Graham & Kendall, 1960; Frostig, Maslow, Lefever & Whittlesey, 1964; Koppitz, 1963) for identification of the problem and also used practice in related activities as an intervention strategy. Later, using a variation of psycho-linguistic theory, Kirk, McCarthy and Kirk (1968) developed a testing procedure which, in turn, spawned a variety of teaching procedures (Dunn & Smith, 1967; Minskoff, Wiseman & Minskoff, 1972). Both of these approaches, and many others, have since been severely criticized (Coles, 1978; Yssedyke & Salvia, 1974; Hammill & Larsen, 1974, 1978) and dropped from favor as the primary answer to learning impairment. All have left a residue of their assessment tools which continue to be used with all sorts of children to identify disabilities, even if the confidence in their related remediation procedures has diminished to near nonexistence (MacIntyre, Keeton & Agard, 1980). Current interest is now focused on the identification of linguistic patterns related to learning disabilities on the one hand, and investigation into brain hemispheric functioning and learning on the other. With development in these areas, new identification procedures have become available (Kershner, 1983). We can only hope that these approaches will better serve the practical needs of identification and programming in schools than past formulations.

A common aspect of most definitions is the requirement that there be no alternative categories or conditions which might explain the problem. Definition by exclusion is an indication of our lack of a clear theory about the nature of learning impairments. This problem is also reflected in the wide variety of estimates of the number of learning disabilities in school systems, which can range from three percent to as high as fifteen percent (Kirk & Gallagher, 1983, p. 375.). These exclusions also suggest a hierarchial ranking of the various causes of learning problems with retardation, emotional disturbance, and cultural background having greater saliency than idiopathic learning impairment.

Of particular importance to the counselling of minority group children is their exclusion from the category of learning disability. If we consider learning impairment to be a significant individual deviation in learning ability, then deviations which can be attributed to group or cultural variables are of necessity excluded. This direct exclusion is often supplemented by a second factor, the assumption of average or normal intelligence for the learning impaired. Where IQ test results are taken uncritically as valid evidence of intellectual functioning in minority group children, a significant proportion of such children may be excluded from the category of learning disabled.

The often reported observation that classes for the learning disabled are disproportionally located in middle-class areas would tend to show that such exclusion is occurring. Recently, however, Tucker (1980) has reported that the inclusion of Black and Mexician-American students in classes for learning disabilities in Texas has reached the point where these groups are now over represented when compared with the Anglo students. Rather than considering LD classes as a means for special assistance for the dominant middle class, Tucker feels that this placement may be masking a subtle form of discrimination now that the educable mentally retarded label has become unacceptable (Mercer, 1975).

Techniques for Identification

If we accept the need for the identification of learning disabilities in children from sociocultural minority groups, we are faced with two difficult tasks. First we must identify those who are performing poorly in a learning situation, and then we must differentiate specific idiopathic learning difficulties from those problems which are either general (and presumably due to mild mental retardation) or the result of cultural or economic background.

Proposals have been made for the modification of existing, normed tests to take cultural background into account. Perhaps the most ambitious endeavor is the SOMPA or System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment (Mercer & Lewis 1978), the most controversial aspect of which is the correction of traditional WISC-R scores (interpreted as measures of present functioning) by means of weighted predictors drawn from interview data on sociocultural background. The resultant scores, called estimates of learning potential (ELP), are suggested as more appropriate bases for educational planning. This tool has received general criticism (Brown, 1979a,b; Goodman, 1979a,b) and in in particular its adequacy for special education planning (Salvia & Ysseldyke, 1981). Studies using the SOMPA with minority populations (MacIntyre & Agard, 1983; More & Oldridge, 1980; Oakland 1977; Reschly, 1981) generally point to the conclusion that the weighting of values in the corrective formula needs to be based on data from the particular local group under consideration. Where this effort is made, there is some possibilty that this tool may help with the identification of a possible discrepency between ability and achievement. None of the work to date has attempted to look at patterns which might identify specific learning disabilities, nor have results based on a learning disability population been presented. At present the system is an interesting research tool but not yet a proven instrument for current needs.

Since WISC-R subtest patterns and VQ-PQ discrepancy are used in the identification of learning disability, it is necessary to know if these patterns and differences are valid for minority groups as well as the majority culture. To this end, Reschly (1978) studied WISC-R subtest scores in four populations: Anglo, Black, Chicano, and Papago Indian. Using factor analysis, he reported that full scale scores were equally appropriate for all groups, and that the traditional separation of verbal performance subtests into VQ and PQ scores was supported. Building on this study, Zarske, Moore and Peterson (1981) studied two groups of learning disability children from the Navajo and Papago Indian populations. In spite of the authors' conclusion that the WISC-R provides a reliable measure of general intellectual ability in LD Navajo and Papago groups, they have not demonstrated that WISC-R subtest patterns can be used reliably to differentiate LD from non-LD children among these cultural minority groups. In fact, the variation of factor loadings among the groups in the Rerschly (1978) and Zarske et al. (1981) studies, especially on the third factor, suggests ethic group differences in the subtle subtest patterns used to identify learning disability, even if the dominant verbal and performance factors are similar among groups.

Recategorization of WISC-R scores in order to better identify learning disabilities has been proposed by Bannatyne (1974). Extending beyond the established VQ-PQ discrepency, this system uses the categories of Spatial, Conceptual, and Sequential. The last category has also been called Freedom from Distractability in other factor analytic work (Sattler, 1982). The pattern of Spatial > Conceptual > Sequential was found in 27 studies on reading disability by Rugel (1974) and in a heterogeneous group of learning disability children by Smith, Coleman, Dokecki and Davis (1977). However, Gutkin (1979), comparing Caucasian and Mexican-American learning disability populations, found that the Bannatyne pattern applied only to the Caucasian group. The Mexican-American sample showed significant differences among the categories in the order of Spatial > Sequential > Conceptual. Similar results were reported by Zarske and Moore (1982) working with a learning disability group of Navajo Indian children. These results are not surprising in view of the general findings regarding VQ and PQ on the WISC-R. The Conceptual category is composed of Comprehension, Similarities, and Vocabulary which are used on the Verbal section of the test. Spatial is composed of Block Design, Picture Completion, and Object Assembly, used on the Performance subtests. What is of interest in this set of findings is that a pattern of subtest groupings which had been found useful in identifying learning disabilities among children from the majority culture has no proven validity among sociocultural minority groups.

The recently published Kaufman Assessment Battery for Children (K-ABC) (Kaufman & Kaufman, 1983) appears to have real potential for dealing with these identification problems. The K-ABC clearly distinguishes between tests of cognitive process and those of cognitive acquisition. The mental processing scales, organized to assess sequential and simultaneous processing separately, are designed to be relatively independent of specific learning opportunities. The K-ABC achievement scales closely resemble the older verbal IQ scales in its estimates of vocabulary, arithmetic, and reading.

In the standardization sample, Hispanic children displayed scores on the Mental Processing scales of only 2.5 to 3.1 points below white children, compared with a WISC-R discrepency of 14 points on VQ and 11 points on FSIQ (Kaufman & Kaufman, 1983, pp. 153). With Black children, the differences were from three to seven points lower on the processing scales compared with 14 and nearly 16 points on the Wechsler.

Discrepancies between scores on the achievement scales generally paralleled previous reports on Black-White and Hispanic-Anglo IQ differences. These results indicate that the K-ABC Mental Processing scales may be less sensitive than the WISC-R to linguistic differences among children. Differences in average scores as a function of parental educational level are still obtained, supporting the hypothesis that differences among ethnic groups may be attributable to socioeconomic variables. The structure of this test, with its direct, internal, comparisons between measures of "ability" and achievement, its clear measures of two major processing modes, its availability of separate sociocultural norms, and solid theoretical and research base, makes it a prime contender for the dominant assessment instrument in this field.

In the assessment of achievement, the area of rading is the most important for the identification of learning disability, especially in jurisdictions where proficiency in language skill is a key part of the definition. Three major reading tests in general use were analysed by Burke, Pflaum and Knafle (1982) for error scores on the tests reflecting differences in dialect. They concluded that dialect-related miscues can be removed from the scoring criteria but only on the basis of a comprehensive understanding of the phonological and syntactic characteristics of the dialect in question. Correction for dialect raised the scores of non-LD students more than those of the learning disability group, suggesting that such a scoring could help avoid misplacement of students in learning disability classes based only on dialect. A similar suggestion has been made by Argulewicz and Sanchez (1982) that the reading performance of bilingual children be assessed in terms of the developmental patterns of such children, rather than on the basis of the general norms. In these cases particular patterns of grammatical constructions may indicate the developing literacy of the child, rather than being a measure of reading difficulty.

Diagnostic and criterion referenced testing have both been proposed as ways to avoid the pitfalls of norm referenced testing for learning disability (Ysseldyke & Salvia, 1974). Such approaches are certainly used in special education, and elsewhere, in designing programs for previously identified children. The logic of moving directly from the identification of a problem to the remediation of that problem is quite appealing. Such an approach avoids the distinction between learning problems and learning disabilities usually made by educational agencies and often echoed by parents. Whereas a learning problem may arise from a variety of factors in the interaction of the learner and the learning system, a learning disability is considered a factor within the learner and requiring a change in him or her. This "blaming of the victim" (Ryan, 1972) approach is at variance with the more pragmatic approach of criterion referenced tests and task analyzed intervention programs. The use of these approaches as a major part of the identification process is unlikely as long as the definitions and conceptualizations of learning disabilities remain in their present state.

Summary and Conclusions

The identification of learning disabilities in minority group children is complicated by the definitions of the condition and by the fact that eductional problems caused by learning disabilities frequently resemble those related to sociocultural background. The standardized assessment tools for identification suffer from this confusion. Estimates of ability, used to identify an ability-achievement discrepancy, are almost universally based on verbal intelligence and are thus confounded with linguistic background. Attempts to assess underlying psychological processes related to learning also involve language and linguistic processes. Recent attempts to provide sociocultural correctives for standard tests (SOMPA and K-ABC) are promising but probably require the development of highly specific norms for each group. Approaches based on current neuropsychological theory may be useful in the future but are still experimental. In practial terms, it might be well to work toward appropriate educational programming for sociocultural minority groups rather than attempting to demonstrate that individual learners from such groups have a disability.

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What Does Research Have to Say about the Testing of Minorities

S.H. Irvine

If psychologists were asked to state what lasting impression they were left with after scanning the research literature on the testing of minorities, they would probably answer in a way that revealed the existence of two streams of consciousness. One would assert the need for more research, recognizing that psychologists' decisions about human beings demand that tests remain scientifically credible. The second would advocate much less use of tests, and in extremity would seek to legislate them out of existence. The watershed road around the paradox in a discipline that claims to be a science for people, and widerspread community refusal to acknowledge that claim, is difficult to chart. For the counsellor working in a politicised bureaucracy, the pragmatic route of least resistance to social pressures is the most likely consequence. Without a rational and humane climate in which to exercise clinical judgment, the counsellor finds that clinical skills cease to be of use or value to those who most need them. This chapter makes a case, based on cross-cultural research, for the restoration of tests to those members of the profession who work with minorities and culture-alien groups.

If a conflict between science and advocacy is revealed at the first categorization of the data, a second sweep reveals another anomaly. Tests have suffered a dramatic change of fortune in the twenty years since 1960. Once regarded as the lifeline of the poorly educated but intelligent student, they have become widely perceived and publicized as inappropriate instruments for all but the privileged. Typical teacher re-

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Sidney H. Irvine, Ph.D., is Professor in the Department of Psychology at Plymouth Polytechnic, Plymouth, Devon, England.

ports on children are unscaled estimates; and these form the basis of promotion decisions. Twenty-minute interviews are the forum for discussion of references for job vacancies. Human judgment, uninformed by standardized test results, seems to prevail. Some candidates prefer to be assessed by people of the same colour, language group, creed and party-political affiliation. The irony of these parameters in pursuit of decisions that are rational as well as just, scares all but the most reactionary and unreasonable of psychologists. To justify placement of any kind, and by wholly subjective methods, the following rationale might be used.

> It is of the greatest importance . . . that the rising generation should be well educated, each in the way best fitted to his or her talents; and that . . . manpower, in adulthood, should be helped into those occupations most needed by the nation, most likely to profit by the individual's special abilities, and most likely, therefore, to make him self-respecting.

The author is Godfrey Thomson, and the context C.M. Bhatia's (1955) pioneering and exemplary study of the construction of tests in India. Thomson adds this to his foreword:

> . . . the object of the testing movement is exactly to forward such aims, not by dictatorial direction, but by careful assessment of abilities, general and special, and helpful recommendations based on such assessment.

The tension lies not in the statement of aims, but in the means by which they can best be realized. Scientific truths and the power to change people's lives are uneasy bedfellows, and in the use of test results cohabitation becomes inevitable. Alec Rodger, friend as well as mentor to my generation in Britain, was perhaps the first to draw psychologists' attention to these facts of life when he wrote his famous dictum, insisting that tests be technically sound, administratively convenient, and politically defensible. In that precise order, the criteria for acceptance are of decreasing scientific importance. It is, nevertheless, much easier to attack tests politically than to defend them scientifically. Most people understand political arguments; but only psychologists understand test theory and construction. And, it seems, a decreasing proportion of them can keep up with today's technical demands. Nevertheless, a professional position maintains that the informed clinical use of tests with minority groups is not only defensible, but is essential if culture-consonant decisions about school and work placements are to be taken accurately and with compassion.

This position rests on the third general conclusion from the literature on test use among minorities in Europe and America. The conclusion itself can be derived from any bibliography in a standard textbook on testing. One of the most recent that is available rests in the volume by Kaplan and Saccuzzo (1982). A commendable chapter on testing minorities covers all the main issues but omits any reference to cross-cultural use of tests. The cross-cultural literature is very large indeed, and it has existed for decades. The conclusion is straightforward: American psychology is ill-informed about major revisions in test practice and theory that have come from the continuous study of test behaviour among subjects from other cultures. The main findings from this research, outlined in the next part of this chapter, make clinical use of tests with minorities a rational and scientifically credible endeavor. Without them, political attacks will prevail more easily and more reasonably.

Measurement and Meaning in Cross-Cultural Testing

In their chapter on issues in minority testing, Kaplan and Saccuzzo are right to stress that the central issue is what a test score means once it is derived from a culture-alien subject. The assumption that test meaning is constant, and the insistence that only standard test procedures can preserve that constancy, are part of the training and ethos of psychometrics. Neither of these beliefs has survived the extensive use of tests in other cultures. In fact the first principle of test use in host cultures is that a test from a donor culture requires adaptation and restandardization before it can even approximate to its original meaning. As early as 1944, Macdonald and his co-workers discovered this, and successive generations of research expeditions (Biesheuvel, 1952, 1954; Macarthur, Irvine & Brimble, 1964; Schwarz, 1963; Silvey, 1964; Wantman, 1964; Okonji, 1969; Orr, 1971; Berry, 1976; Drenth, 1979; Harkness and Super, 1982; Omari, Drenth & Van der Flier, 1983) all reaffirmed a set of basic testing principles that were designed to stabilize test score meanings, and that were codified many years ago. They have had no recognizable influence on American test production or test manuals. They are listed here for clinicians to consider when they are required to administer tests.

1. Every test response must be learned.
2. Omnibus test booklets should be avoided.
3. Instructions should be oral, not written.

4. Testers must speak the same language as the subjects, and if necessary be of the same ethnic background.
5. Test presentation should be dramatized in group settings, and the climate should be cheerful and convivial.
6. Familiar test material should come first.
7. Supervised practice to a pre-test criterion must precede the test itself.

These heuristics provide as much true-score variance as the items will allow, and help to minimize error variance. A model for definition of sources of variance in tests used across cultures was first devised and then updated by Irvine (1966, 1979), taking account of these rules. They work well, and the most cogent testimony to their transfer across contexts is provided by Akeju's (1983) account of twenty years of large-scale testing in Nigeria, using tests originally constructed by Schwarz; by the thirty-year history of the development of Biesheuvel's GAB (General Adaptability Battery), provided by Verster (1976); and in Orr's two central but largely neglected works (Orr, 1971, 1972). The conclusion is plain: tests have the same meaning in different cultures only after their content and presentation methods have undergone field trial and revision.

That summation may well reveal a limitation in traditional thinking about the methods used in measuring human cognitive functions. The constraint of stimulus identity may have systematically misled scientists in a quest for a universal baseline for assessment. Strictly experimental studies in concept formation and recall (Scribner, 1974), and in Piagetian operations (Price-Williams, 1961; Chung, 1983; Irvine, 1983), reveal that stimulus identity can *inhibit* competent performance across cultures. There is, then, no such phenomenon as operational use of tests, since the meaning of the score is a function of how that score is collected. The most common indices of how test use may be unsuitable for the host culture are group means, item difficulties, correlations and regression slopes, and factor analysis. Each one of these markers has been treated thoroughly by cross-cultural scientists. Some examples constitute the next section.

Changing Group Means

A large number of studies show that group means can be altered by conscious experimenter effects, including changes in provision or denial of practice, and coaching either by providing answers or solution strategies. These are reviewed in Irvine and Carroll (1980), and summarized in Irvine (1983). It would be satisfying to report that deliberate external intervention produced the same internalizations in the subject, whatever the culture. Performance improvement, traceable to experimenter intervention, is itself a variable. Messick's (1980) study of coaching on the SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test) argues that coaching gains are small and are largely an educational function of time on task. Nevertheless, the report contains evidence of abnormally large gains in Black students at one particular school of test-wiseness. New reports of ethnic-specific change in Wechsler IQ performance are provided by Mamorale and Brown (1982). Their work demonstrates that IQ's changed significantly from first testing in Grade 1 to second testing in Grade 3 only for Puerto Rican children. The IQ scores of white and Black school children attending the same school as the Puerto Ricans stayed constant. The authors suggest that culturally learned verbal response patterns in the presence of adults must have engineered the results of the first testing. Harkness and Super (1982) make the same point about testing African children. One such famous study by Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1968), designated such increases as expectancy-based. Thorndike, in a conveniently ignored critique of the Pygmalion work, suspected that the baseline mean of the first-graders was so low that it must have been a function of experimenter error (Thorndike, 1968). That, in a much more acceptable context, is what Mamorale and Brown (1982) demonstrate. If, moreover, a test is given only once (and this is standard procedure), the baseline is also the final score. The reasonable hypothesis for minority group means that are less than the norm is that they are caused by experimental procedures. To test the hypothesis, however, needs more than careful administration of the tests that are in general use today.

While group means are the visible sign of possible difference in test meaning, the next step is to find out if, all other things being equal, the test items behave in different ways from group to group. Since averages reflect the relative difficulty of items across groups of subjects, abnormal item-difficulty patterns can affect the group mean score. Not only this, but they can affect the correlation of the test with a criterion. The brilliant series of papers by a group of Dutch psychologists over the past fifteen years (Poortinga, 1971, 1983; Mellenbergh, 1972, 1983; Van der Flier, 1983) shows that item construction, dependent on within-group analysis, is by definition a culture-relative phenomenon unless items can be devised on a theoretical foundation that uses emprицism to verify the theory. Most of the proposals and procedures in these papers have not been implemented in the design of tests currently available. We can conclude that the vast majority will contain items whose parameters in minority groups are unknown. While they remain so, the credibility of tests deservedly rests in the balance.

If the solutions to the problems of use and misuse of tests in minority groups were merely technical, then the entrepreneurial spirit of the American testing industry would have ensured profitability by this time. The problems are not that easily resolved. John French (1965) produced a keystone paper that should have alerted test theorists to a fundamental problem. I have seen that problem characterized on a wall in the Thurstone Laboratory. The sign said, "You can control all you like, but the subject does what he likes." The sign in Carroll's office undoubtedly focussed his attention (Carroll, 1976) on how to define what the subject is doing while the experimenter issues instructions and removes bias from items. French took the daring step of *asking* his subjects how they solved various problems in a large and comprehensive test battery. From the interview data, he separated the subjects into different "strategic" groups. He then factor-analysed the test scores, keeping the groups distinct. The results were clear: systematic use of strategies by the subject altered mean scores and also the relationship of the tests to each other. Internal control processes were determining outcomes.

The extent to which this happens is not generally realized, although the cross-cultural research literature is characterised by a continuous debate about the effect of ecological variables on the habitual information-processing strategies of ethnic minorities. The work of Berry (1976) contains its most complete statement. While many agree that the notion of cognitive style makes intuitive sense, the debate has been over the use of tests to define and measure habitual modes of thinking in other cultures. The same criticisms that surround test use and interpretation in minorities have been applied rigorously to cognitive style material. Undoubtedly, other approaches will be needed to pursue this line of enquiry. Some evidence for the primacy of what the subject does is available in the recent attempt by Irvine and Reuning (1981) to construct test items from a predetermined theoretical position and to use groups from other cultures to verify the robustness of the theory. This work confirms that performance can be modified by internal attention to instructions and by the stimulus properties of the items. No matter what group was tested, the test behaved in predictable fashion. Differences in performance were apparent, but they were functions beyond the definition of the task. The cross-cultural literature shows that subjects do not all respond to tasks in the same way, but the processes they use are capable of definition in a universal framework.

Changes of Relationships

Performance as a function of context has been the focus of some of Berry's most recent work (1983), and Irvine (1983) has attempted to specify the contexts that give a test score its meaning. Most of these contexts are correlational. There is much evidence from North American research that the traditional correlation of test scores with parental occupation favours high-income groups, that gender correlates differentially with verbal and spatial tests, that school quality shows no independent correlation with test performance. These findings have become part of the argument for test removal. If they were shown to be not universal, then the theory of testing would change, even if the political frame did not. A long history of work in Africa reveals the following consistent findings.

First, the customary female dominance in verbal tasks in the primary school is not found in African contexts. The consistency with which males outperform females in verbal performance produces a severe weakening of the theoretical position that ascribes neurological and/or hormonal gender differences as the prime cause of superior achievement. However, male spatial skills are, as in Western contexts, more sharply honed. Male knowledge of current events, political, historical and scientific, is also more pronounced. Gender differences are evident, certainly, but not to the same degree, and not altogether in the same directions as are found in Western school systems.

Much criticism has been levelled at tests because they correlate with the socio-economic circumstances of the subject. A great deal of variation in test scores can be accounted for by the family background of school children in North America. Jencks (1972) puts it as high as fifty percent. The permanency of that finding can be challenged by the extensive test surveys conducted in Africa since 1960. The work of Macarthur, Irvine and Brimble (1964), Silvey (1964), Irvine (1966, 1969, 1981, 1983), Drenth, Van der Flier and Omari (1979) shows that family background has no correlation with educational aptitude, but that school taxonomies can be constructed, revealing that school quality accounts for significant proportions of test score variance. High performance is associated with single sex, mission boarding schools, and inordinately high failure rates are seen in mixed-gender urban and rural day schools.

These findings show that the gender and socio-economic effects on test scores in European America are not universals. Some might even ask if they were artefacts of social organization, involving the staffing of primary schools by women in the West and by men in Africa, and the policy of neighbourhood schools that produces spurious correlation between school quality and socio-economic status. Only in countries where schools are located independently of job opportunities can variance be apportioned accurately. One other clue to the appropriateness of the test model as a context-specific phenomenon can be inferred from Driver's (1980) account of West Indian and white performance in nation-wide secondary school certificate examinations in Britain. Driver points to the apparent superior performance of West Indian immigrant girls in a study of a number of annual cohorts. He provides a complex role-model explanation for the phenomenon. Simple reanalysis of Driver's data shows that there is a correlation between the dropout-rate of any group characterised by gender and ethnicity and its examination results in any one year. The value is −.6, implying that the performance of any group is a function of its status as a minority or majority. Minority groups perform poorly, whatever their gender or ethnic origin (Irvine, 1980).

The Future of Research in Minority Testing

All of the evidence that we have to date about the relativity of the conclusions from North American test studies has forced a revaluation of what can be claimed from test scores. When carefully documented evidence about the susceptibility of figural tests to practice, their low correlation with school achievement, and the almost complete absence of correlation with family environment is forced into the mould of cognitive theory, it all but breaks the bonds of inference from test scores. Denied the stability that theory requires in order to become scientific, the theory of intellect must undergo revision. This should not be interpreted by political scientists as a license to hunt and kill all species of tests. A fairer comment would be that the work of the last decade has exposed the frailty of beliefs about tests and at the same times has put them on a surer footing. For the tests are changing. Three recent sources of progress can be cited with confidence. The titles themselves are revealing. The first, *Intelligence and Learning* (Friedman, Das & O'Connor, 1980), is a notable attempt to integrate theory in the quest for new paradigms in individual differences. The next, a collection of papers edited by Eysenck (1982), is called *A Model for Intelligence*. This makes a determined claim to demonstrate powerful new ways of testing intellectual capacity using only the simplest of tasks. For example, reaction times, inspection times, and the length of the evoked potential brain wave in the first quarter of a second following a click in the ear – all have yielded substantial correlation with test performance. While no one has tested a number of minority samples using these tasks, it seems only a matter of time before someone attempts a replication with black as well as white subjects. On the basis of group differences in the length of the brain wave, inferences about trait differences between races will follow. If Eysenck's present proposition, that physiological measures are almost entirely genetic in origin, is erroneously accepted by the popular educational press, the notoriety attending test use will increase, and the sufferers will be those who require assessment for accurate diagnosis and remediation. In my review of Eysenck's challenging book, I point out that physiological measures are as much a function of nurture as they are of nature, that brain-wave measures are theoretically complex, and that the measures of evoked potential originating in Eysenck's laboratory have no entirely objective means of derivation (Irvine, 1983). Too many scientists have advanced boldly to theory on insecure evidence since Spearman introduced his first great metaphor about human nature's fund of mental energy. That is the last lesson that research about testing minority groups has for us.

The third important statement of the decade rests in *Human Assessment and Cultural Factors* (Irvine & Berry, 1983). A virtual progress report on cross-cultural assessment during the seventies, it states clearly the contextual domain of the theory of intellect that Sternberg has synthesized in his most recent work (Sternberg, 1984). As Sternberg develops this aspect of his theory, he must find that its origins date to a tradition of measurement that has its roots in Spearman and Binet, as the classic works of Biesheuvel (1943) and Bhatia (1955) amply demonstrate. Nevertheless, the interaction of cultural context with measurement has shown most promise when grand theoretical design has given way to careful experimental design. A modest example of this progress is available in Irvine and Reuning (1981). The cross-cultural robustness of the theory used for task construction is shown in no fewer than ten replications. Context proves that the theory is robust, and that age, gender, stimulus properties, attention to internalized instructions, are all factors in performance operating constantly across contexts. Our latest investigations in Plymouth show intriguing task by gender interactions. If these results persist across cultures, we should be able to disentangle intra-hominem from inter-hominem (Irvine, 1979) explanations of gender differences in verbal performance. Sternberg's latest theory is termed triarchic, and its components correspond closely to the three classes of explanation most commonly given for observed differences in group performance. I have already designated two of these as intra-hominem (process-determined) and inter-hominem (strategy-determined); the third is extra-hominem (context or ecologically-determined). I have been asserting for twenty years that test scores are not capable of bearing any *single* interpretation, and that the best we can do is adopt an interactive explanation of all three facets of performance.

Undoubtedly, Sternberg's formulation will give much-needed impetus to the evaluation of test use in the United States. Those of us who have watched developments in the cross-cultural field, and who have published findings in proceedings and journals that have received little critical notice, will once again commend them to North Americans, in the sure and certain knowledge of their resurrection in the long run. The galling thought, however, is that intelligent application of our findings could have produced clinical results of great benefit to counsellors and their clients. The future of minority testing depends on its acceptance by those who have most to gain, and most to lose, by incorporation of the cross-cultural perspective into current practice.

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PART IV

Counselling Specific Ethnic and Cultural Groups

PART IV

Introduction

Shiu L. Kong leads off this section by reminding us that Chinese Canadians are a diverse group and do not fit any one stereotype. He identifies and describes some of the main problems the Chinese as a visible minority have, particularly those who maintain a strong cultural heritage. Kong gives us a good perspective of who Chinese Canadians are. He looks at some issues and special problems Chinese immigrants (adults and children) have and their implications for counselling. Kong concludes by giving the counsellor some good general advice in dealing with the Chinese in a counselling situation.

Like Kong, Joti Bhatnagar points to the issue of diversity to avoid stereotyping but in relation to South Asians. To help the counsellor be aware of the special problems of South Asians, Bhatnagar describes some differences in the socio-cultural life in the home country compared with that of life in Canada. He shows us how movement across cultures can affect the life-style, attitudes and family life, and how prejudice and descrimination can affect the South Asian child. Bhatnagar concludes by highlighting some basic issues deserving the attention of the counsellor (e.g., racism, language, psychological adaptation).

Inez Elliston continues the theme of diversity in this section and shows that West Indians are a cautious heterogeneous socio-cultural-linguistic group, and that stereotyping is to be avoided. She describes the adjustment process of West Indians and how race and colour barriers may prevent West Indians from entering into the mainstream of Canadian society. Elliston takes a close look at the school boards and their policies, or lack thereof, in counselling the culturally different or minorities. She discusses the employment situation for West Indian youth and its implications for counselling. Elliston then describes how some specific counselling approaches or programs can benefit the West Indian.

Arthur Blue and Robert Annis start by making some convincing arguments that there is no "typical" Native Canadian, and that they are not like other ethnic minorities. They stress the need for a special kind of counselling and a specific counselling model for Native Canadians. The models currently in vogue, they argue, are more suited for middle-class Euro-Canadians and have been unsuccessful with Native Canadians. Blue and Annis discuss some ways traditional counselling approaches may be modified. In looking to the future, Blue and Annis offer some good suggestions for training counsellors of Native Canadians.

John O. Wyspianski and Lynn A. Fournier-Ruggles outline some relevant issues as well as offering some answers in counselling European immigrants. They delve into some of the culture-related issues concerning adjustment of European immigrants. To establish good rapport, Wyspianski and Fournier-Ruggles suggest that the counsellor understand and have some perspective of the European continental life-style and culture. They argue that the preferred counselling style of the European is more likely to be directive than nondirective. They describe some specific problems the European immigrant experiences in making the transition to Canada and look at the implications for counselling as well as examining the central issues. Wyspianski and Fournier-Ruggles conclude by giving some insightful answers in counselling European immigrants.

John Berry concludes this section by giving us a good perspective on the adaptive process of the foreign student living in Canada. He presents us with a general model of acculturation that outlines some adaptive strategies individuals may use. Foreign students, Berry argues, represent a special case of acculturation and this implies that students may use some unique adaptive strategies in intercultural encounters. Berry discusses the domains of adaptation (environmental, socio-cultural, psychological and academic) and the special problems foreign students encounter in each of these domains. He concludes by expressing the hope that counsellors will be able to utilize the general findings, concepts and issues identified when counselling foreign students.

In Part IV at least one common theme emerges, and that is that to avoid stereotyping counsellors should be aware of the diversity and heterogeneous nature of the different populations they may be counselling. The authors in this section describe the unique adaptation problems of their particular cultural group in making the transition from their home country to Canada. The authors conclude by making some insightful suggestions to counsellors regarding some counselling approaches to use with respect to the different cultural groups described.

Counselling Chinese Immigrants: Issues and Answers

Shiu L. Kong

Approximately eighty per cent of the Chinese Canadians living in Canada today have come to this country within the last twenty years. They have come from all corners of the globe, representing a wide spectrum of educational, linguistic, economic, occupational and cultural backgrounds. They do not fit the stereotypic profile which was formed in the early part of the century, and which today is still held by many people.

This chapter proposes to outline the diverse characteristics of the Chinese Canadians as they exist today. In addition to describing their changing attitudes, life orientation and outlook, an attempt will also be made to trace the common cultural thread which binds them together.

Chinese culture emphasizes the sanctity of the individual and places human relationships into well-defined hierarchies. For a long time, the family was regarded as the most important institution in which individuals learn and practise self-cultivation, decorum, respect, trust and cooperation, with moderation and compromise as guiding principles. However, as life conditions change, they alter people's thinking and behaviour. This chapter puts in perspective the structure of the traditional culture, and how elements of it persist and change in modern times.

The impact of a new life in a strange land impinges on the immigrant in all directions, requiring him to give up some of his original values, perceptions and life styles, and to adopt new ones. The process of adaptation can be difficult and sometimes damaging, or it can be stimulating and enriching. In either case, the manner in which adult immigrants

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Shiu L. Kong, Ph.D., LL.D., C.M., is Professor in the Department of Educational Psychology at the Faculty of Education of the University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

adapt to their new country and the effect of such adaptation usually bear on the development of children in the next generation. For many immigrants and their offspring, the process of acculturation and finding a new identity is a difficult and persistent one. This is particularly true for those individuals who come from a strong cultural heritage and who are also a visible minority. We will now identify some of the conflicts and problems involved.

Who Are Chinese Canadians?

Perhaps more than any other group of immigrants, Chinese Canadians represent a diversity of ethnic, cultural and experiential backgrounds. Generally speaking, those who settled in Canada prior to the 1960s largely came from Southern China, particularly Toysan. They were a homogeneous group. Those who have arrived in the last two decades have come from all parts of China, as well as from many countries outside of China. In Metropolitan Toronto, for example, there are identifiable communities of Chinese immigrants from Central America, the Caribbean, South Africa, India, Singapore, Vietnam, Taiwan, England and other European countries, all imbedded within the larger community made up by people from Hong Kong and China. Increasingly, many of this last group include ethnic minorities who have settled in Hong Kong in the last thirty years (Lin, 1966).

Although we speak, in general terms, of the "Chinese people," this body is actually made up of a large number of ethno-cultural groups. Five such groups are usually mentioned, but in actuality there are fifty-three minority groups varying in social customs, language, livelihood and even physical features. There are six different written languages in China. At present, thirty minority groups are large enough to have representatives in the National Congress.

Historically, China has been a divided country. The vastness of the terrain punctuated by some of the world's most impassable mountain gorges has, until very recently, helped to keep people of different regions and cultural orientations apart. In the course of history, one or another major ethnic group has ruled over a large part of China and left distinct marks of their customs and beliefs in the culture of the country as a whole. There were periods when the Chinese Empire expanded beyond its traditional boundaries into Russia, Asia Minor and the South Seas. These movements, together with the exchange of trade, culture and religion, have left indelible marks on the shape of the

Chinese culture. Throughout most of the history, however, the Hans have constituted the majority of the Chinese population and have had the greatest influence on the Chinese cultural mainstream. According to the 1954 census in China, the Han people formed 94 per cent of the total population.

The Hans are identified as a distinct ethnic group, but because they occupy a large area with very different climatic and natural conditions, and because intermarriages have occurred frequently throughout the centuries, the Han people today represent the descendants of a variety of groups (Cheng, 1978, p. 28).

Chinese emigrants began their exodus some 1100 years ago. There are indications from archeological finds that the Chinese came to North America more than 800 years ago. Chinese Canadians celebrated the 125th anniversary of the landing of the first Chinese in British Columbia in 1983. Later, with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, some 1700 Chinese were brought into Canada from 1882 to 1885 to help complete the work. This began a steady settlement of Chinese immigrants throughout Canada. The process was slow and the number was small for a century until the onset of the 1960s, when world events changed the social, economic and political conditions of many countries. With increased world-wide mobility, Chinese emigrants have also shifted their choice of settlement, seeking in each case to find an ideal habitat. During the past two decades, many Chinese have chosen to immigrate to Canada, coming via many parts of the world. Some of these newcomers have in fact settled in non-Chinese communities for generations and therefore carry their regional, cultural, linguistic and political variations with them.

Today, when we meet Chinese Canadians from across Canada, we can expect to find considerable cultural diversity among them. We also know that they are participating in all sectors of our economy. It is appropriate to suggest that caution needs to be exercised in order to understand this cultural group, rather than applying a stereotyped image of a Chinese person.

Cultural Base and Common Characteristics

For a very long time in history, the Chinese were guided by two basic schools of philosophy – Confucian Liberalism and Taoist Individualism. As a result of these two modes of thinking, Chinese society upholds the sanctity of the individual, adopting the "doctrine of the golden mean" as the fundamental approach to nature and human relationships (Chai, 1959). The Chinese personality is marked by self-reflection, decorum, gentleness and loyalty (Lin, 1973).

Confucianism advocates a rationalised social order which begins with a person exercising self-cultivation, learning to maintain a harmonious relationship with the family, then to take responsibility in community affairs and, finally, to rule over the country. The functional assumption is that if every person in the society performs his role in accordance with a common code of ethics, there will be social stability and universal peace (Hsu, 1968).

Self-cultivation means learning to perfect one's interpersonal skills and to recognize and accept one's roles and responsibilities in society. An individual is first a member of a family. Every family is divided into three basic relationships; namely, the relationship between husband and wife, between parent and child, and between siblings. Within this hierarchy, each member of the family carries a basic and specific responsibility toward the others. Thus, according to the "Five Cardinal Human Relationships in Confucian Ethics," the father must be righteous, the mother must be caring, the elder siblings must be friendly toward the younger ones, and they, in turn, must trust and respect their elders. Finally, the children must be filial to their parents.

As an individual extends himself beyond the confines of the family to the larger environment, he encounters two other kinds of relationships; namely, the relationship between ruler and subject (in today's context, the relationship between government and citizen, management and worker, etc.), and the relationship between friends. In Confucian ethics, parents and children should show affection and love; ruler and subject should maintain righteousness and justice; husband and wife should preserve differences; siblings should uphold mutual respect; and friends should cultivate trust.

Within the social hierarchy, the behaviour of the individual is regulated by a set of clearly defined ethical principles relating to his roles and responsibilities. The family is the pivotal point through which an individual perfects himself and makes the transition from a private sphere of activity to a public sphere of life. It is also the family that ensures stability and continuity in society because it links successive generations with their ancestors, thereby assigning to every individual a definite role in history. It is for these reasons that the Chinese place a great emphasis on family life.

In Confucian ethics, moral order is conceived and maintained through good personal manners and congenial interpersonal relationships. The concept of right and wrong is relative in nature, and judgement is made on the basis of interpersonal compromise. This is quite different from Western ethics where values are dichotomized into good and evil, and right and wrong is dictated by religious canons and the fear of God. For the Chinese, it is ethics, and not religion, which provides both the practical and spiritual basis for their civilization. Perhaps because of this down-to-earth approach is the larger part of Confucian and Taoist thought able to permeate all people, the young and the old, the aristocrat and the commoner. Through family life, the universal tradition of decorum, moderation, self-restraint and respect for hierarchical relationships works its way into every individual. It is the modelling of parents and elders, not the teaching of priests, that helps youngsters acquire a balanced view of right and wrong. Perhaps this also explains why Chinese individuals who grow up in environments far removed from the Chinese milieu and who may not read Chinese still retain some degree of Chinese character and behaviour (Tseng, 1973).

Cultural Interface and New Characteristics

China is a continental country. To the ancient Chinese, their land was the world, a large-scale family. They believed that as long as everyone adhered to the roles and responsibilities defined by Confucian ethics, order and stability would be perpetuated. For a long time, progress was conceived of as stability rather than change.

In 1875, China was defeated by the French in Annam. Two decades later the country lost its hold on Korea to Japan. In the succeeding years, China suffered repeatedly from the military onslaught of Germany, England, Russia and France inside her own territory. The stability of the old family world was shattered. The confrontation with foreign powers propelled China to untie itself from its past in order to change. Modernization became the preoccupation of the nation. But tradition dies hard, particularly when it is solidly entrenched in the spiritual fabric of the people. The process of modernization, accordingly, runs a hesitant course in which conflicts between traditional values and practices, and modern, largely Western, requirements produce an atmosphere of inertia. To a large extent, this wavering process of modernization continues to affect China as a nation today, as well as individuals of Chinese ancestry, wherever they may be (Huang, 1971). It is not so much a reluctance to change as a deep loyalty to tradition that influences the Chinese person to maintain his characteristically conservative stance (Fung, 1948, pp. 8–9).

Nevertheless, new qualities are emerging that enrich the Chinese personality as he adapts to the modern world (Lin, 1966). For example, within the doctrine of the golden mean, there is no place for competition and confrontation. Every problem can be resolved through self-restraint and compromise. But, in modern society, competition is a way of life, and confrontation becomes necessary whenever disputes arise between competing interests. Thus, the reality of modern life has made Chinese people very competitive. They have learned to confront problems and opponents when it becomes necessary (Mitchell, 1968).

Other transformations of attitudes and behavioural patterns also affected Chinese immigrants as they took root in their new homeland. Generally speaking, the early emigrants left their homeland to seek alternative opportunities for making a better living. They had little intention of settling on foreign soil. Rather, the idea was to make a lot of money, after which one could return to enjoy a good life in one's homeland. Even those who stayed abroad for a long time remained closely tied to their family and relatives in the motherland. Because of this idea of temporary orientation, Chinese emigrants in the past largely chose to be self-contained, to keep to their own businesses and to remain on the fringe of society. At the same time, they also did not allow their problems to become a burden to society. Perhaps this was the source for the stereotype of Chinese immigrants as an apathetic group that did not possess any social problems and were not enthusiastic participants and contributors to their host society.

However, world events and social changes in the last three decades have helped to terminate that attitude of a sojourn existence. Today, Chinese emigrants are permanently settling in the land of their choice. In Canada, for example, Chinese Canadians are participating in a full range of social activities. They strive to belong and to acquire full membership status in the mainstream of Canadian life (Kong, 1979). Such a process may prove to be painful or enriching, depending on how an individual adjusts himself and what kind of resources are available to aid him. In any case, the manner in which an adult immigrant adapts to life here has a direct influence on the developmental experience, social perception and outlook of his children. As a whole, contemporary Chinese Canadians are well-educated, confident, competitive and adaptive. They have retained some of the basic characteristics and behavioural patterns of the traditional Chinese personality and, in addition, have acquired the full range of Western orientation. The degree to which either of these cultural elements dominate a person's behaviour depends on his family and experiential background. In some cases, an individual shifts his mode of behaviour to suit the situation or event he encounters.

Issues and Answers

Given the above background we can now summarize some of the salient points relevant to the characteristics of contemporary Chinese Canadians.

Generally speaking, the emphasis on the family still persists among most Chinese people, despite rapid social changes which have altered the family structure (Wright, 1964). This has had a profound effect on the formation of the individual's personality. As was stated before, the family offers ample opportunity for the children to test various kinds of interpersonal relations. The family also serves as a channel for the transmission of Chinese culture, in spite of an environment which is predominantly Western in character. Psychologically, the close ties between family members and, in particular, the continuing affection of Chinese parents for their children enable them to grow up secure and less prone to depression and mental illness (Tseng & Hsu, 1970).

The Chinese in Canada, however, are not without difficulties. They share with other visible minority groups the problems of alienation, discrimination, distrust and the persistence of stereotyped ideas. These problems, when they occur, may be overt or subtle. They exist like shadows plaguing the immigrant as he struggles with adaptation and acculturation. Besides these difficulties, the individual faces the conflict of wishing to preserve his ethnic identity and native life style, while at the same time desiring to become a full member in Canadian society. For many Chinese Canadians, there exists the nagging question of what constitutes the correct blend of Chinese and Canadian characteristics. A more difficult question to answer is whether being a Chinese Canadian can ever be the same as being fully Canadian.

For the adult immigrant, the pain associated with alienation and discrimination is usually bearable because it is generally accepted that one must pay the price of settling in a new country. But for those who are born in Canada or come to this country as children, these same conflicts may trigger anger or despair, depending on the life conditions of the individual. In either case, it undermines one's sense of dignity and disturbs one's peace of mind.

The children of immigrant parents encounter special problems, and many do not have the resources or assistance to resolve them. These children inherit two different sets of heritages which engender difficult conflicts. The responsibility of having to live up to the expectations of two cultures and two societies is an awesome one. Often, these children are confused and frustrated about what identity they should assume, and which behaviour mode they should adopt when they find themselves in varying life situations. One may, of course, speak Chinese and exercise a proper sense of respect towards one's elders in Chinatown, while speaking English and being assertive and competitive in the larger context of Canadian society. But is this the necessary qualification for being a Chinese Canadian? Or is it simply a matter of possessing Chinese features but behaving like everybody else? These are difficult questions to resolve. Ultimately, each individual will struggle to find his own identity.

It should be realized in the counselling situation that the immigrant client is often unable to articulate his problems clearly. This is partly due to the fact that difficulties of acculturation, adjustment to feelings, cultural conflicts and identity confusion are extremely difficult to pinpoint and express. But these problems do impinge on an individual's state of mind, behaviour and ability to cope. In addition, the Chinese immigrant who is accustomed to practising self-restraint and reticence in discussing his problems does not find it easy to pour out his feelings to a counsellor.

It can be seen that there are no ready answers to the question of how to counsel Chinese immigrants effectively. However, it would be facilitative if the counsellor were aware of the general characteristics of Chinese Canadians, such as those we have described above, and attempted to treat each counsellee on his own terms. It is important that the counsellor does not look for "typical" Chinese characteristics. Instead, he should observe any Chinese or non-Chinese characteristics and use them to delineate the background and orientation of an individual.

In practical terms, it is important to seek information about the counsellee's family background, the education and occupation of his parents, his place of origin, his mother tongue and linguistic skills, and his educational experience. Such information, when considered in the context of what we have described above, should help the counsellor to understand his client as an individual, not simply as a "Chinese immigrant." With this orientation, the counsellor can then apply his counselling skills to handle the specific problems that confront his client.

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Counselling South Asian Immigrants: Issues and Answers

Joti Bhatnagar

The purpose of this chapter is to give a description of the sociocultural background of the South Asian group in Canada. It is intended to provide those counsellors who are unfamiliar with South Asian cultures with information that might be of assistance in understanding, evaluating, and counselling South Asians. The term "South Asian" is employed here because people originating in countries like Pakistan or Sri Lanka object to being called "East Indian" – and strongly object to the rather derogatory name "Paki."

An often forgotten characteristic of the South Asian group is that it is as diverse as the Canadian mosaic itself. Within this group large differences exist with regard to the country of last residence, religion, mother-tongue, length of residence in Canada, educational level, adaptation responses, adjustment patterns, and problem areas. Although all South Asians at one point in time originated in one of the countries in the Indian sub-continent, some have come to Canada from countries to which their forefathers moved several generations ago. Thus, the South Asian immigrant group in Canada originated not only from countries in the Indian sub-continent (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Burma), but also from Africa (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mauritius, and so on), Europe (Britain, Gibraltar, and so on), the West Indies (Trinidad, Guyana, Jamaica, Barbados, and so on), and from countries in South Pacific (such as the Fiji Islands). At least twenty mother-tongues are spoken in the South Asian group such as Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Gujerati, Tamil, Telgu,

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Joti Bhatnagar, Ph.D., is Professor of Psychology in the Department of Education at Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Malyalum, Bengali, English, and French. All the major religions of the world are represented in this group including Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Judaism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, and so on. In terms of religion, mother-tongue, and place of origin, it would therefore be very misleading to think of South Asians as anything but a very diversified collection of people.

In terms of length of residence, South Asians fall basically into two groups: those who came to Canada toward the beginning of this century, and those who came to Canada after 1967. The first South Asians to come to Canada were Sikhs who made a brief stop in British Columbia while returning home after celebrating Queen Victoria's silver jubilee in England in 1897. Some decided to stay and made British Columbia their new home. They then asked their families in India to join them. By 1908, there were some 5,000 South Asians, predominantely single males, in British Columbia. There were two major reasons why few South Asians established families in Canada. First, although many South Asians felt that Canada was a very good place to earn a living, few felt that it was a desirable place to live permanently. Second, immigration authorities made it very difficult for the members of this group to call their families in India to join them. By 1907, strongly anti-Asian feelings permeated the social milieu of British Columbia; and although the Chinese and the Japanese were the chief targets of this hostility, the resentment was generalised against all non-whites. By 1908, two orders-in-council were passed. The first required an Asian immigrant to be in possession of at least two hundred dollars before being allowed to emigrate to Canada. Since this represented a considerable sum of money in those days, few Asians qualified. The second order-in-council established that an individual was not allowed to emigrate to Canada unless he completed the journey from his homeland to Canada in a single vessel! The purpose of this strange regulation was to prohibit immigration from India without explicitly saying so. Since there was no direct ship service between Canada and India in those days, it made legal emigration from the Indian sub-continent virtually impossible (Ferguson, 1975). Thus, although there were some 5,000 South Asians in British Columbia by 1908 (there were virtually no South Asians in the rest of Canada), their numbers increased to only 6,000 by 1942 (Srivastava, 1983). In the early part of this century, bigotry was prevalent; differences in appearances and cultures between the whites and South Asians were translated into theories of racial inferiority. All South Asians were lumped into a single category "Hindu," which most of them were not (Ferguson, 1975). Until 1947, South Asians were prohibited by law from voting or obtaining Canadian citizenship, which is turn prohibited them from either holding public office or entering many of the prestigious professions such as medicine and law. It follows, therefore, that in the first half of this century all South Asians were employed in unskilled jobs as lumberjacks, miners, fisherman, farmhands and railway construction workers. Through frugal living, some South Asians acquired their own farms; but a large majority of the first wave of South Asian immigrants and their succeeding generations are still predominantly employed as unskilled workers. As a response to the ostracism by the host community, the early generation of Sikhs developed a self-contained community with its own social, religious, and cultural organizations (Raj, 1980), and to this day that social pattern continues to dominate the life of many South Asian workers in British Columbia.

In 1947, changes in Immigration Regulations removed the blatantly discriminatory provisions, and South Asian immigration increased dramatically. Their numbers increased from 6,000 in 1942 to 175,000 in 1975 and an estimated 300,000 in 1983 (Ramcharan, 1982). This second wave of South Asian immigrants were very different from those who arrived in the early part of this century. They were highly skilled, well educated, articulate, and urbanized. Toronto and not Vancouver now hosts the largest number of South Asians, but substantial communities can be found in most of the urban centres of Canada. The post-1967 immigrants also developed ethnic institutions, not primarily as a response to the social ostracism by the host community but in order to meet their cultural, social and political needs (Ramcharan, 1982). The following will address the concerns of this second wave of immigrants.

In discussing the adaptation of South Asians, a clear distinction must be made between adaptations in the public and private spheres. For a new arrival, adaptation in the public sphere is usually rapid and relatively painless. He is determined to assimilate into the Canadian milieu quickly and harmoniously, acquiring whatever skills he needs in order to achieve this goal. The South Asians starts off with certain advantages. He usually comes from a country in the British Commonwealth with a history of legal and political institutions similar to those of Canada; he adheres to the Protestant work ethic even more adamantly than most Canadians do; and the structure of his material preferences is similar to that of most Canadians. Buchignani (1980) points out that one-third of the South Asian sample studied had obtained a job within two weeks of arrival, and virtually all were gainfully employed within two months. With the exception of culinary habits, South Asians quickly acquire Canadian patterns of material consumption. For example, a large proportion have purchased a house, a car and other paraphernalia within five years of arrival in Canada. They scrupulously observe the law, so that the crime rate, including juvenile delinquency, among South Asians is very low.

The most important factor in the adapatation of South Asians is the family, including the extended family in Canada and the countries of origin. The family is the core of an extended kinship network that is pivotal in the lives of South Asians. It is the chief source of economic, social and emotional support during old age, unemployment, sickness, death, and other times of distress. On the other hand, it places severe limitations on individual freedom and does not accept many deviations from prescribed social behaviour and rigid role expectations. For example, the father is expected to play the role of an authoritative figure, responsible for discipline, while the mother is the real head of the family to whom children turn for economic, physical, and emotional support. South Asian culture is very family-oriented in that most major decisions are not made by the individual as is the case in Western cultures. Thus, decisions such as marriage and career choices for the South Asian are not individual decisions but remain family decisions. The decision to enter into matrimony is viewed in the contemporary Western culture as a decision by two individuals with the family in an advisory rather than a decision-making role. In South Asian cultures, marriage is perceived as a decision and a union by two families and not merely a union of two individuals (Ross, 1961).

Most marriages in the Indian sub-continent are arranged after considerable contemplation and discussion between the two families. The bride and the groom are advisors rather than decision-makers. A very large proportion of South Asian parents originating from the Indian subcontinent have had pre-arranged marriages. However, children growing up in Canada absorb the prevailing cultural norms and wish to make their own marital decisions. Thus, the whole question of dating and marriage causes greater tension between the first- and second-generation immigrants. After conducting a survey of Indian immigrant families in Canada, Kurian and Ghosh (1983) report that among "the socializing practices found in Western society perhaps the most controversial for Indian parents is dating and association of boys and girls." They found that Indian parents were unwilling to let their teenage boys and girls date each other. They were, somewhat reluctantly, willing to let their sons date but not their daughters, although there was some willingness to let their adult daughters date. Similarly, a gradual movement toward the Canadian norm was observed with regard to marriage. Most parents felt that decisions regarding marriage should be undertaken by both parents and children. This attitude is common in all the religious, regional, and linguistic groups.

Adjustment to life in Canada in the private domain causes many serious problems for South Asian immigrants. Since an extended family is at the centre of an intricate social network, most attempt to maintain this traditional structure in the new environment by keeping in close touch with their families back home. They maintain these close contacts by extending economic assistance to their parents and relatives, and by frequent visits to their countries of origin. Many experience guilt feelings for having abandoned their traditional place in the family network by emigrating to Canada and attempting to develop new social and cultural networks. Since the social networks back home reflect the dominant language and cultural factors of the region, it is hardly surprising that the social networks developed by South Asians in Canada reflect these regional and linguistic differences. For example, there are over twenty South Asian social and cultural organizations in Montreal such as the Goan Association, the Hindi Sabha, the Zoroastrian Association, the Gujerati Mandal and the Hindu Mission. Most of these represent linguistic, religious, or regional interests. However, for the purposes of representing their political interests, most South Asian groups have now organised a national body. East Indians, for example, have developed the National Association of Canadians with Origins in India, with a national executive and local chapters to act as political pressure groups before Parliament in order to protect the interests of their members.

Most South Asian-Canadians have a great deal of difficulty in trying to find an acceptable model for the socialization of their children. Normally this process poses no serious problems. The acceptable behaviour patterns, attitudes, and values are passed on from generation to generation. Although there are differences among individuals, and from one generation to the next, the fundamental structure remains fairly stable.

Rarely is there a need for the basic restructuring of the whole process – except after a traumatic event when old models no longer apply and the appropriate new models have not yet been developed. Recent arrivals constantly wonder if they have provided the relevant and appropriate socializing experiences for their children. Difficulties are further compounded if one desires to keep the values and attitudes of the traditional family structure in an environment that is basically unsympathetic to such aspirations. To a certain extent, native-born parents suffer from similar ambiguities. But in the case of immigrants, these ambiguities are further accentuated by the fact that neither the memories of their own childhood experiences nor the example of their Canadian neighbour serve as a useful guide. The parents have grown up in a different climatic, religious, linguistic, social, and cultural environment, and the entire socialization process becomes problematic. For example, the use of unmodified child-rearing practices employed back home might produce a child who is unable to deal effectively with the mainstream culture and is unable to cope in the Canadian environment. Most South Asian parents differ from their neighbours in looks, food habits, mother-tongue, life-style, attitudes (particularly those involving interfamily, interpersonal relations) and values. The South Asian community in Canada has not been her long enough to have created its own child-rearing mores. As discussed elsewhere (Bhatnagar, 1981), the parents are navigating in an unchartered territory.

Most South Asian parents are very concerned about which language to use in communicating with their children. Should they use their native language, or should they concentrate on making their children fluent in one or both of Canada's official languages? What scientific evidence exists on the effects retaining the home language and the development of competence in English or French, on academic performance and on the development of cognitive abilities in general? Until about fifteen years ago, there was general agreement among social scientists that bilingualism was detrimental to the development of cognitive abilities and, therefore, to academic performance. Research studies in places such as Wales, the West Indies, East Africa, India, Belgium, and Holland arrived at an unmistakable conclusion: Bilingual children showed a lower rate of cognitive development and low academic achievement compared to monolinguals (Arsenian, 1945; Darcy, 1953). With hindsight, it is difficult to imagine how this conclusion went unchallenged for such a long period of time. A casual glance at a list of people who have made outstanding contributions to society in the various fields of endeavour would reveal that a very large proportion of them are indeed bilingual if not multilingual. Their cognitive ability does not appear to have been diminished as a result of their linguistic diversity, but, on the contrary, it appears to have helped them. Leading authorities, such as Lambert, in scientifically designed and rigorously controlled studies, have pointed out factors that contradict earlier research findings (Peal & Lambert, 1962). Since language plays such a crucial role in any culture, Lambert argues about the futility of isolating language issues from cultural issues. When one talks about bilingualism, one is talking about bilingualism and biculturalism. Indeed, it is not possible to become fluently bilingual without becoming bicultural in the process. It is now accepted by scientists in the field that bilingualism and biculturalism are positive assets to cognitive growth. On the whole, bilingual and bicultural children have a higher I.Q. and highter academic achievement at school than do monolingual and unicultural children. Bilingualism and biculturalism provide a kind of mental and cultural flexibility that is very conducive to sound intellectual growth. However, it is not simply a question of bilingualism but of what *kind* of bilingualism. Two types of bilingualism have been identified by Lambert (1975). The first is additive bilingualism, where a new language and culture form an addition to the language and culture the individual already possesses; the second form is subtractive bilingualism, where the new language and culture gradually replaces the old one. As the individual acquires the new language and culture, his old language and culture diminish in importance and are gradually forgotten altogether. The individual no longer wishes to be associated with the old language and culture. Research findings clearly indicate that it is only the additive and not the subtractive type of bilingualism that is beneficial to intellectual growth. The implications of these finds for South Asian children are clear. Some parents feel that since they have emigrated to Canada they should use English and/or French exclusively in conversation with their children; this would give their children a better chance of succeeding at school. While fluency in English or French is a very important factor in success at school, research demonstrates that forgetting one's mother-tongue may not be the best route to achieving this result. In a study of Italian immigrant children in Montreal, I found that bilingual Italian children (Italian and English/French) were more proficient in both written and oral English or French compared to Italian children who did not speak Italian (Bhatnagar, 1980). It appears that a native language and culture maintenance are essential for a healthy cognitive development of immigrant children. In addition, it serves another important function: If children develop confidence in, and respect toward, their origins and their roots, they will acquire a high self-esteem essential for the emotional and social development of the individual. But can children develop high self-esteem in a social milieu that rejects them? A brief examination should now be made of the social acceptability of South Asians in Canada.

There is little doubt that non-whites face a fair degree of prejudice in Canada. After reviewing numerous studies, Hughes and Kallen (1974) came to the conclusion that there is a great deal of both personal and institutional racism in society, and that ethnicity still constitutes an important criterion for social stratification. Although the relationship between ethnic group membership and social mobility is not restricted to immigrants, this factor plays an important role in the integration process of immigrants in Canadian society and affects the rate and direction of their social mobility. Buchignani (1977), in tracing the history of bigotry against East Indians in Canada, established that the incidence of prejudice and discrimination of both the overt and the subtle variety has increased substantially in recent years (Chandra, 1973; Ramcharan, 1974; Head, 1975; Ontario Human Rights Commision, 1977; Ubale, 1977; Henry, 1978). Well-documented studies (Parai, 1974; Green, 1976; Ashworth, 1976) have clearly established that immigrants have helped Canada develop a viable population base and prosper economically by providing unskilled, skilled, and highly skilled manpower. But public imagination has been caught by the writing of those like Collins (1979) who argued that ills of Canada could be directly attributed to the dilution of the British stock through contact with nonwhites. Ramcharan (1979) has put the position forcefully:

> While Canada overtly prides itself on being a society tolerant of racial and cultural differences, in practice it is a society permeated by bigoted and prejudicial attitudes, overt racial discrimination and negative stereotyping. Particularly in the last four years, the prevailing attitude has been that all social and economic ills have been caused by foreigners and strangers who have dared to enter Canada.

The widespread and urgent nature of the problem has now been politically acknowledged. As a result, the House of Commons recently set up a Special Committee on Visible Minorities. There is evidence to suggest that among visible minorities, with the possible exception of the Native population, South Asians are viewed as the most distant out-group. Head (1960) found that 68% of the South Asian respondents reported as having been discriminated against. There were no significant differences across class lines in that the degrees and kinds of discrimination faced by middle- and lower-class South Asians were similar. Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) found that East Indians were the least preferred group of 26 ethnic groups tested. In her survey, Henry (1978) found that 16% of the population of Toronto were hard-core racists and a further 34% inclined towards racism. On the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, South Asians were seen as the least accepted group. Forty-four percent of Henry's respondents thought that there were too many East Indians in Canada, while 16% thought that there were too many Italians. Blacks were seen as lazy, slow-moving, and dirty, and South

Asians were seen as arrogant, manipulative, too aggressive, and too different to be easily absorbed into the Canadian milieu. Ijaz (1983) in his survey of Scarborough schools found that South Asians were the least preferred of all the ethnic groups tested. Why are South Asians the most socially ostracized immigrant group? Is has been suggested that racial prejudice is a colour-class phenomenon, and that if the racial minorities were to make economic and occupational progress, social acceptability would follow (Res, 1970). This does not appear to have been borne out by the South Asian experience in Canada. Henry (1983) points out that "although figures are difficult to come by, estimates indicate that as many as 40% of both Indians and Pakistanis are in managerial or professional occupations." Similarly, Mukherjee (1980) noted that Indian families have adjusted well in the economic arena. While they are one of the most successful of all immigrant groups in professional and economic terms, social prejudice against them continues unabated. The main reason for this, apart from differences in their physical appearances, seems to be that they are viewed as culturally very different. This social distance continues to be the major problem for the South Asian community. Acts of vandalism have been reported against their homes, but, more distressingly, their children are called names, taunted, and sometimes physically abused at school. How does one console distressed parents whose children are being harrassed at school simply because they belong to an ethnic group?

In conclusion, this paper provides a description of the diverse ethnic backgrounds and immigration histories of South Asian Canadians. The basic issues highlighted for the specific attention of counsellors are the following: a) racism, b) language issues and cognitive development, c) adaptation mechanisms and problems of new immigrants in the public sphere, occupational aspirations, and socio-economic mobility routes, d) the adaptation patterns and mechanisms in the family-community network and related problem areas including child-rearing practices, socialization of children and young adults, dating and marriage patterns.

For each cluster of an issue, the paper presents background information and descriptions and identifies current trends. In the discussions the issue of racism, we have seen a gradual movement away from structured racism embedded in Canadian laws, institutions and policies. On the other hand, racism and racist attitudes as reflected in individual attitudes and behavior patterns both in overt and covert forms are still very prevalent. Racism is not unique to Canadian society. Based on dissemination of misinformation, visible minorities are the most frequent target for its expression in most societies, especially during difficult economic cycles. Counsellors should ensure that racist attitudes do not confound the definition of the situation in the case of each individual child. Furthermore, they should also use their office and influence to encourage preventative action and dissemination of correct information.

In the sphere of language and cognitive development, the data presented in this paper indicate strong support towards encouraging a healthy, positive attitude towards bilingualism (mother-tongue plus English or French). Bilingualism at home or use of the home language with parents should not be actively discouraged. Once again, racism may interfere in decisions related to this type of counselling activity. Counsellors need to keep apace with the research trends in this area.

The paper also describes the ability of the South Asian immigrants in achieving a smooth adaptation to the Canadian conditions in the public sphere, especially as it concerns the occupational, housing, and economic realms. Furthermore, South Asians bring with them a tradition of literacy, high occupational aspirations, and a trust in the role of schooling in providing upward mobility. The paper further describes the existence of various models of successful adaptations in different occupational spheres. The counsellor can now accumulate a varied and rich data base from the achievements of established Canadians of South Asian origin. Such information can be used and should be taken into consideration in counselling the individual child. The racism factor has been isolated as a major variable confounding counselling patterns for children of Native groups. Therefore, counsellors should be particularly aware of the unintended consequences and effects of racism on the immigrant child in their counselling process.

The South Asian immigrants are, however, much more cautious in their adaptation to Canadian practices when these concern the family. The paper illustrated the fact that the phenomenon of the generation gab is even more acute in the case of the South Asian parent-child relationship. South Asian parents are rather conservative in their views concerning child-rearing practices, dating patterns, and marriage decisions. One main reason is the perception of the isolated nuclear and urban family model as the cause for the disintegration of the cherished extended family. This is of even greater concern for the newcomer since it is this network which serves as the main facilitator for adaptation. In general, this view seems to be justified. The extended family and community network seem to provide supportive and effective mechanisms for adaptation. Counsellors should try to understand these mechanisms better and help the individual make the best use of them while providing him/her with the capability to realize individual aspirations for equality and opportunity. With these concerns in mind, we can perhaps realize the Canadian dream of a truly multicultural society.

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Counselling West Indian Immigrants: Issues and Answers

Inez Elliston

West Indian immigrants to Canada have been the subject of much attention. This is so not only because they represent one of the newest groups of newcomers to this country, but also because of persistent stereotypes about who they are. As well, the complexity and uniqueness of the problems they face in adjusting to Canadian life have led to their being singled out for special and continuing comment. Differences in social class, in family structure, in educational attainment, in language competencies, in religious affiliation, in regional peculiarities and in the motivation to succeed are often ignored as specific problems are generalized to the group as a whole.

Studies have shown (Anderson & Grant, 1975) that, with the exception of the United Kingdom, more immigrants from the West Indies come with higher levels of education and vocational skills than from any of the other major sending countries. Equipped linguistically, socially and educationally to become contributing members of the society, they come with high expectations and the anticipation of opportunities for economic and social mobility.

Similarly, Schreiber (1970), in his study of West Indians in Toronto schools, notes that because of the high admission standards applied to this group of immigrants, they are far more likely to meet Canadian standards of middle or upper middle-class behaviour. Furthermore, the children may have a better grounding than Canadian children of the same age in such areas as world history, geography or languages. Parental encouragement towards high academic achievement serves to

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Inez N. Elliston, Ph. D., is Counsellor and Consultant in Multiculturalism for the Scarborough Board of Education, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada.

reinforce the motivation to succeed (Schreiber 1970; Elliston 1970; Anderson & Grant 1975) among this group.

Many of these newcomers are professionals in health care services, in business and in the skilled trades. Despite favourable conditions of entry, the process of adjustment for some categories of young West Indians has been both slow and painful. Impediments arising out of a society which is predisposed towards prejudice and discrimination (Head, 1975) serve to exclude many well-prepared West Indians from the economic opportunities of Canadian life. For many adults there is a glaring lack of opportunity for advancement in the workplace, especially to positions of responsibility and decision-making, since the factors of race and colour are formidable barriers to equal opportunity and to entry into the mainstream of Canadian society.

The Adjustment Process

Newcomers respond differentially to changed circumstances, and certain factors appear to be associated with the adjustment process. These include:

1. Patterns of arrival: Children who come with parents and siblings as complete or intact family groups cope with the disruption caused by change more readily. In contrast, some children who come as staggered family groups (Da Costa 1978) arriving one to sixten years after their parents and/or other siblings appear to be constantly in crisis.
2. Age of arrival: Older children who must re-establish personal ties on re-joining other family members tend to exhibit behaviour problems. From the number of cases requiring the intervention of Children Care agencies, it appears that children in the early and mid-teen years are especially prone to stress occasioned by relocation.
3. A history of urban or rural life experience: Children who come from urban settings have a repertoire of social skills which render them quite adaptable to the life style of a large metropolis.

This is not usually so for those who come from a background of rural living. The absence of the intimacy provided by the manner in which both school and community life are interwoven means that many feel isolated on arrival in Canada. They become vulnerable to stress in the face of the demands to behave appropriately and to perform competently.

Other factors which influence adjustment are:

1. Dialect interference in the use of standard English tend to slow progress in achieving a fit between previous knowledge and the new learning.
2. Prior conditions in the home country and the reasons for immigrating such as political upheaval or economic hardship influence the rate of adjustment.
3. Differences in the use of time and space, practice in participating in discussion, or the reluctance to engage in self disclosure are factors which may also contribute to the isolation and ultimate alienation of the newcomer.

The process of adjustment extends over a long period of time and involves some very specific stages (Gullahorn & Gullahorn 1963; Oberg 1960). Especially vulnerable are those children and young adults whose families come in a staggered pattern and lack the necessary educational and vocational expertise to enter the job market. Within this group discrepancies between expectation and actual adjustment problems are acutely felt. Because the school is one of the most important vehicles for socialization and advancement, problems of adjustment within this institution need to be clearly identified.

Factors which were found to influence the newcomer's ability to adjust to schooling were both physical and psychological and include characteristics such as color of skin, size and perception of self. It is believed that adjustment is hampered by feelings of isolation which can have a long-term impact on the child's psychological functioning and academic performance (Stubblefield, 1955; Tooley 1970). Cornille, Bayer and Symth (1983) report that children will, however, adjust after an initial period of stress and disorganization. But if there were disruptions in the family organization prior to the move, then adjustment remains problematic. Social or economic changes in the family status, coupled with cultural differences, tend to make it difficult for children to reestablish themselves in a new school.

The school systems in Canada were unprepared to deal with the range of linguistic, social and cultural differences which newcomers present. Samuda and Crawford (1979), for example, report that few institutions had any direct or specific reference to guidance and counselling for the culturally different or for minorities. As a result, a disproportionate number of children have been diagnosed as educationally and linguistically deficient. Many have been streamed into the vocational and occupational levels in school at a time when the low demand for skilled training made such placement ineffective as far as enhancing the life chances of these children (Every Student Survey Board of Education, 1970, 1975, 1980) as well as psychologically damaging in terms of a healthy self-concept for the more capable students. In the absence of appropriate information about previous experience, lack of understanding of the role that culturally derived responses play in communicating meaning and the need for competencies in dealing with differences in learning styles many children remained at risk in the system. The ineffectiveness of educational and vocational assessment and counselling means that for many newcomers academic achievement remains low, community integration is poor and economic advancement remains minimal.

A Study of a Community-Based Program

A study of a two-year youth training program in Metropolitan Toronto (Elliston 1972) explored the issues related to devising educational experiences to facilitate the adjustment process of youths with special needs. The subjects were a 33 percent sample of 93 unemployed West Indian youths. Three groups were identified: non-entrants (10), dropouts (10) and completers (10). It was assumed that patterns of problems such as decision-making skills, economic and personal problems could be generalized to the larger group of West Indians who are at risk.

The program itself was designed to ameliorate educational deficiencies, to increase the students' knowledge of the occupational world and to provide greater insight into economic, personal and social needs.

The study considered the question of differences among the three groups of trainees such as motivation, perception of needs, self-perception and perception of life. In addition, a counselling component centered around the assessment of interests and educational achievement. Curricular modifications, referrals, a series of other concerns ranging from attendance in class to attitudes of teachers, problems of a personal nature, community integration and wage expectations were explored.

Results

Those who dropped out seemed to have experienced an array of problems related to clothes, personal difficulties with day-to-day arrangements and habits which were socially/culturally different. For example, the manner in which they wore their hair or clothes and their perception of the training programs. They felt their problems were frequently not understood by teachers and counsellors. They did not perceive college personnel as helpful or having high expectations of them.

Problems related to both the difficulty and the length of the program were factors which contributed to people dropping out. Their expectation for high wages was unrealistic, indicating a need for more accurate information about the world of work. Many could not cope with the orderly day-to-day progression of work and education. Their lives were basically unstructured, and thus they did not feel confident in handling problems which occurred in the structured setting of the school. In contrast, completers felt they could handle problems. They had a more positive view about both their appearance and their feelings about being useful. Completers were more positive about holding a job and perceived a greater amount of control over the domains of their lives. In turn, they coped effectively and had more realistic expectations about wages.

Discussion

The pattern of differences which emerged from comparing the groups which comprised the study raises interesting questions about the role of self perception, self-management skills and environmental conditions on behaviour. It also raised questions about which methodologies are effective in enabling people to take control of the circumstances in their lives.

In particular, it revealed the gap between the perception of ability to cope and the actual demonstration of coping skills.

It was felt that, in order for the project to succeed, there should be supportive counselling programs. In this context, counselling was defined as providing services that include advisement and information giving and practice in problem-solving. The main features of the counselling services included (a) educational counselling – guidance in the selecting of educational opportunities and education program planning; (b) vocational counselling – guidance in career choice and the acquisition of work employability skills; (c) personal counselling – guidance in problem definition, problem solution and decision-making generally; (d) facilitation of personal development; and (e) participation in various cultural and recreational events.

The objectives of the counselling service were (a) to increase problem-solving skills by creating an atmosphere where people would feel supported through opportunities to become involved with others in related situations; (b) to reduce frustration by giving information as to alternatives relevant to needs and goals; (c) to encourage participation in recreational and other student activities at the education institution and in the community as part of personal and social development; (d) to facilitate personal development and social adjustment through participation in group activities and through exposure to cultural happenings; and (e) to publicize and seek support for the program by accessing community-based resources.

Group sessions focussed on study habits, problems that developed in the context of the learning situation, issues of general interest such as unemployment, the world of work and recreational club activities. The group provided the opportunity for the development of group cohesiveness through participation and the assumption of specific group roles and responsibilities. It also provided the circumstances for engaging the students in a discussion of both general issues and specific concerns. Several aspects of this program warrant examination.

Community outreach

The active interest of several institutions such as the college where the students were enrolled, university student's union, churches and community agencies was sought for this program. The intent was to provide the students with a sense of community, to identify opportunities for access to a range of services, and to allow for the development of a network of useful social contacts. A further intent was to gain support for the program which was unique in the sense that participants "volunteered" to go into training and did not receive a living allowance while in training in contrast to trainees who were in sponsored programs.

A number of positive outcomes have been associated with the outreach program as a strategy for helping. These include overcoming the difficulty of the counselee's reluctance and suspicion of the counsellor (Tucker, 1973) and creating a link between the institution, the community and the students's own peculiar world.

The counselling program

Aspects of this program were both community and institution based. A number of school personnel served as counsellors and provided for direct contact between the trainee and the various institutions.

Students in the program were referred directly to these teacher/counsellors. They, in turn, assumed the responsibility for monitoring the progress of each group of trainees and for making such modifications to the program as needs arise. This was done in consultation with the counsellor/community worker.

The role of the counsellor

The counsellor's function in initiating specific action on behalf of the trainee is considered essential in mobilizing the client's "expectancy of help" (Tucker, 1973). Most students must be competent in order to make the psychological journey from school directly to college or university. For those who are newcomers to the society and its institutions, such a journey may be a virtual obstacle course. The newcomer needs to be oriented to specific patterns of behaviour which are appropriate to these institutions and to the expectations that go with being a student (Elliston, 1977). At the same time they must be assisted in dealing with unresolved conflicts and doubts which are the natural consequences of cultural transition. Sensitive counsellors, alerted to any unique circumstances or specific needs of students, can actively intervene to change those conditions that are barriers to success. These may include time table adjustments, providing pertinent information to instructors, and advocacy with respect to performance and evaluation where necessary. The teacher/counsellor has an opportunity to facilitate such necessary systemic changes (Gunnings, 1977; Gunnings & Simpkins, 1972.)

Group process

It was assumed that group activities would serve as a vehicle for attaining some measure of group cohesiveness among trainees. The function of the group experience was seen as a supportive mechanism for those enrolled in this special program. In addition, for a number of years there has been a concern in some metropolitan schools over the tendency of West Indian students to group together in specific locations on an on-going basis. Unfortunately, the role of the group in the adjustment process has not been fully understood. Students group together for support in what they perceive as a threatening environment. Uncertanties and fear are muted as they engage in bantering within the group. The group in turn provides an opportunity to exchange and practice ideas in personal coping strategies within the safety of its numbers. They may revel among themselves in the knowledge that by grouping together they occupy a power position vis-à-vis the system. But, essentially, the group serves the purpose of meeting, and overcoming even temporarily, the underlying fear, isolation and loneliness engendered by failure to achieve membership in the school as a community.

The grouping of West Indian students is a cultural characteristic which has had positive value in the home culture. The pervasiveness of the tendency towards oral and spontaneous communication (Schreiber, 1970) as well as the high level of interpersonal trust exhibited in community life are behaviours which have been identified as differentiating West Indians from some other Western groups. This is so regardless of social class membership. The group of family, friends or acquaintances is the main social unit, and much of the individual's identity and sense of belonging is derived from the interaction within these various groups. As a consequence, group counselling as a process recommends itself as an effective method of working with these students. The ability to use these naturally forming groups purposefully to teach coping skills, to foster cultural awareness and encourage cultural maintenance has made an enormous difference to the adjustment of some of these newcomers to the school system.

More recent studies into the African identity have led to the formulation of ideas about the role of the group in shaping the African personality. It is believed that there are identifiable Africentric values, attributes and responses (Akbar, 1976) which appear to characterize those of African heritage. The grouping tendency of some West Indians may well be attributed to their link with their African heritage. However, not all West Indians share this common heritage since they come from a multicultural society. But social and economic conditions which prevailed in the Caribbean over many centuries of colonization has reinforced an oral tradition and trust in communicating within the group.

The value of small group interaction provides a useful means of developing relationships and enhancing problem-solving skills (Yalom, 1975; Fuller, 1978; Ohlsen, 1977). Shipp (1983) also states that group process is very effective in counselling blacks. Shipp suggests the following necessary elements: (a) psycho-learning and an interaction based on shared experiences; (b) a social learning process that stresses interpersonal feedback, validation and listing of newly defined relations; (c) a focus on shared responsibility, for skills acquisition and values clarification. In this sense, the group serves as a mirror for reflecting feeling and, hence, a vehicle for arriving at new self-precepts. Gill and Barry (1982) also advocate a developmental process of group identification and action to guide participants in the development of new coping skills.

Decision-making

The analysis of the Youth Training Project, describet earlier, highlighted the need to teach decision-making skills. It is now generally accepted that the skill of decision-making is essential in enabling the individual to gain control over his/her life (Norman and Atlas, 1978). It is also believed that decision-making is a teachable skill. By incorporating this as a strategy in the design of the program for the counselling of minorities, they are given a tool whereby they are able to translate information into action through rational and reflective processes (Gelatt, Verenhorst & Carey, 1972). Activities planned within the framework of the group or issues arising out of the group interaction can provide a useful setting for such decision-making, problem-solving strategies.

Self-perception

Regardless of personal endowments, social class membership and other attributes of a favourable lifestyle, all peoples in cultural transition tend to experience a revised estimation of their own worth in the process of adjusting. The new immigrant is a person in transition from one culture to another and from one social and psychological situation to another. After the initial period of mourning (Arrenondo-Dowd, 1981; Romero, 1981; DaCosta, 1976) they begin to feel the pressure to conform. This can be either a short or a protracted process (Cheng, 1978). For the individual, this means finding one's place in the society by doing those things valued by the society and imitating aspects of the life-style of the host culture. There is an instinctive urge to do those things that are approved, with the hope that by so doing one will achieve that sense of normalcy which seems to be missing. For some, it is difficult to translate that feeling of dis-ease into a specific need. The counselling program should assist the newcomer in specifying these concerns. The next stage is to provide the opportunity for processing information gathered, skills acquisition and the reflection of feeling. Values clarification and attitudinal adaptation must also be addressed.

Informal club activities, through its outreach component, as mentioned earlier, enabled the participants to experience Canadian culture. At the same time, these students were encouraged to maintain some aspects of their own culture through activities within the group. The importance of such a program rests on the fact that it allows for the screening of different cultural values. The process of interaction between the two cultures lead ultimately to a better understanding of some of the value dimensions of the host society and enable the participants to begin to internalize these selectively. Such a process is useful in allowing people to come to terms with the change they are experiencing and to move towards reconciling the conflict engendered by having membership in two separate cultures. Only then is it possible to release the energy for the discharge of various life tasks such as learning, getting and holding a job and assuming the other responsibilities of adulthood.

Conclusion

Small community-based projects can serve the purpose of providing data for the examination of the phenomenon of adjustment especially when this involves the hard-to-reach inner-city youth who are in cultural transition. The design of such programs should enable the newcomer to deal with discomforts, to identify needs, to access services and to engage in meaningful planning. Counselling activities are central to this process.

Many counselling models, aimed at fostering adjustment, focus on the individual without giving enough weight to changes which must occur concurrently in social systems such as the school or other community agencies. Newcomers are especially vulnerable to the confusion of conflicting needs and values, to mis-labelling, to inadequate or inappropriate placement, and to counselling strategies that do not take into account differences in lifestyles and ability to accommodate to change.

Effective counselling must deal with the personal dimensions of the counsellee's life and with the identification of specific needs. It must include strategies which mobilize the counsellee to make decisions and take action to bridge the two cultures. But it must also go beyond these to address the problem of systems functioning to seek to modify obstructive conditions. The provision of effective support services can serve this purpose for some situations. The design of the program should ensure the inclusion of a network of sensitive and facilitating persons within institutions and agencies who will seek to effect those systemic changes that are prerequisites to the creation of a receptive environment for newcomers. Such provisions should enhance the possibility of the release of the creative energy necessary for learning and for the discharge of the responsibilities of good citizenship. The dual approach of preparing the individual to make changes while at the same time ensuring that a mechanism is in place for systems to respond recommends itself.

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Counselling Native Canadians: Issues and Answers

Arthur W. Blue and Robert C. Annis

The term "Native" is used here to refer to all aboriginal inhabitants of North America. That is the Indian, Inuit, Metis and other non-status Indians who in total number over 1,000,000 individuals in Canada. This group is different from other ethnic minorities or hyphenated Canadians in that the Native person is not an immigrant, a sojourner or refugee. The immigration of Native people to North America stopped some 5,000 years ago. Although many of the "problems" of Native people are superficially similar to those of other ethnic minorities, as their cultural roots, historical perspective and psychological orientation are different, unique demands are placed upon the counselling context. Hence, a special kind of counsellor and counselling model is required.

By way of introduction, a few words must first be said in order to place this "group" in perspective. For it is even here, in the mistaken attempt to view the Native person as a member of one group, where problems begin. For example, there are close to 300,000 "status" or "registered" Indians in Canada, but they belong to some 573 different "bands." And although approximately 70 percent live on "reserves," there are over 2,200 of these in Canada. Native people are scattered across the entire width and breadth of the country and are divided by geographical boundaries, cultural differences and legal distinctions. There is no "typical" Native.[1]

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[1] The statistics reported are "best estimates" which we believe give an accurate impres-

Arthur W. Blue, Ph.D., is Professor and head of the Department of Native Studies at Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada.
Robert C. Annis, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor in the Department of Native Studies at Brandon University, Brandon, Manitoba, Canada.

However, having said this, Native people with few exceptions do share one common feature: lives characterized by poverty and economic dependence. This gives rise to all of the problems which are associated with and aggravated by poverty such as substandard housing, malnutrition, inadequacy of primary health care and unemployment. As well, there is alcoholism, depression, poor academic achievement, substance abuse, suicide . . . On almost all of these counts Native people fare badly in comparison to virtually any other group. For a compendium of such statistics see Knox (1980) or Frideres (1983). Hence, the problems found by the counsellor dealing with a Native clientele are profound and multifaceted.

An explanation as to why such conditions prevail in Native communities can only be given with reference to a complex set of historical and contemporary events, and about these there is much debate. However, it is clear that at least historically Native people have fared very badly at the hands of the Federal Government and other Canadians (Berry, 1981). Indeed, we believe that many of the present psychological problems of Native people are intricately linked with conflicts of self-identity and anomie which are rooted in the past, and to which far too little attention has been paid. For many Native people, the situation is like that of a traveller-tourist who after a long voyage to a new land awakes to find himself immersed in a culture which is not his own. But, unlike tourists, Native people had no choice as to what that voyage would be, when it would take place or even the opportunity of refusing the trip. They are, in part, kidnap victims of Euro-Canadian culture. These issues are raised here because they are ones which cannot be dodged or ignored in the counselling context.

Definitive answers cannot be given at this time to the issues which confront the counsellor of Native Canadians. For although the problems faced by Native communities are large and the scope for counselling programs great, few real success stories can be identified. Perhaps this is because the issues themselves have not been clearly defined. Why there is such a paucity of fruitful new perspectives is partially attributable to system inertia. The counselling domain has in large part been

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sion of the general state of affairs. There are no clean figures. Three national agencies collect most of the statistics on the Native population: Statistics Canada, DIAND, and the Decennial Censuses of Canada. However, these three agencies differ in their terms of reference and methods of enumeration. Further, some terminology, such as the word "band," is a political label. The Minister of Indian Affairs can create and destroy band designations; hence, the number of bands can vary from year to year in a rather haphazard manner.

operated for and by middle-class Euro-Canadians with counselling models derived from and suited for such a clientele. The relevance of such approaches to the Native populations is highly questionable. As Sue, Allen and Conaway (1978) and Dinges, Trimble, Manson and Pasqule (1981) have documented, in many communities relatively few Native people avail themselves of the extant mental health services, and most of those who do fail to return for a second session. It appears, as LaFromboise and Rowe (1981) have noted, that Native people find the typical counselling experience long on vexatiousness, short on meaningfulness – or both! In conclusion, as the traditional counselling models are not appropriate for and have frequently been unsuccessful with Native peoples, they are rejected here. Unfortunately, it is possible to reject something as wrong, and to be confident that it is wrong, without being able to clearly state why or how it can be corrected. This is the state in which we find ourselves.

Some practitioners (Banks, 1971; Vontress, 1971), because of the failures of the past, have intimated that with minority groups counsellors from the dominant culture are not beneficial and should abandon such a role. For instance, in the United States, Mitchell (1970) has argued that most white counsellors cannot be part of the solution for a Black client since he is frequently part of the problem. There is some validity to such a position (Sue, 1981), but this is not an orientation we advocate. Certainly, a white therapist may be rejected by a Native client simply because he is white, but this does not necessarily follow (LaFromboise & Dixon, 1981). Hence, the solution for a particular problem ought not be to design a whole system in which only "like-counsels-like." It is, indeed, necessary to understand problems from the client's own perspective, but in order to do so it is not essential to be homomorphous. Human commonalities are as important as ethnic differences, and we are of the view that positive benefit can accrue to both client and counsellor from a therapeutic situation which requires cross-cultural communication.[2]

The resolution to the conflicts which may occur from a counsellor-client mismatch is not to design a system such that mismatches are legislated against. This simply hides the problem, and by explicitly avoiding interracial or intercultural contact the counselling model is itself compromised by the acceptance of fundamental limits. Instead, a radically different approach to the training of counsellors needs to be undertaken such that truly interculturally skilled counsellors are produced and are given instruction in counselling models which are sensitive to and beneficial for their client whoever he may be.

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[2] Wolfgang (1983) reviews studies which speak to the efficacy of inter-racial and intercultural counselling. He points out that some research indicates that Black students prefer Black counsellors and undergo more self-exploration with Black counsellors, but equally well other studies have found the intrinsic human qualities of the counsellor to be more important than race. Wolfgang concludes that there is simply little information or agreement on what the "magic" amount of similarity, dissimilarity and compatibility should be for intercultural counselling to be effective.

There have been some innovative and fruitful North American investigations[3] that can be studied for sources as to how traditional counselling approaches can be modified, altered or redefined. For example, Youngman and Sadongei (1974) have outlined how Native counsellors can focus on traditional mannerisms to guide their interactions; and Jilek-Aall (1976) has demonstrated that mythological themes through storytelling can provide a medium for identifying symptoms and for providing insights into client's problems. Attneave (1969) has demonstrated that the Native family network and positive aspects of family dynamics can be successfully exploited and actively mobilized for client support. Trimble (1981) has overviewed Native/non-Native value differentials and how these must be taken into account in any counselling context, and Hahn (1978) and Jilek (1982) have documented many indigenous forms, concepts and theories of psychiaric illness. Thus, great strides have been taken in the attempt to develop culturally appropriate counselling techniques for Native people – but much work remains.

In all of the studies reviewed there has not been any explicit attempt to select a personality/counselling model, be it humanistic, behaviouristic, psychoanalytic, etc., which on theoretical grounds seems more suited for, or adaptable to, intercultural counselling. Indeed, there has been remarkably little discussion on this point anywhere in the literature. For this reason we would like to present here in some detail one theoretical perspective which counsellors may wish to consider. This is based on Lacanian Theory.

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[3] There is now a vast literature concerning the mental health of Native peoples in North America. Some of this work is excellent, but unfortunately a fair proportion has either not paid sufficient attention to cultural variables, or has been methodologically weak and hence is of dubious value. However, some useful sources to this literature are:

1) Kelso and Attneave (1981), a bibliography of North American Indian mental health – 1300 references.
2) Manson (1983), an edited book which focuses on new directions in preventative mental health programmes in Native communities.
3) Peters (1981), a comprehensive annonated bibliography of suicidal behaviour – 65 references.
4) "Psychiatric Annals" (1974), a special edition of which was devoted to Indian mental health.
5) "White Cloud Journal," an American Indian periodical which devotes most of its space to mental health research.

Lacan is one of the best known of the modern French psychoanalysts. He reorganized the French school of psychoanalysis by controversial and paradoxical teachings which consisted of weekly and bimonthly seminars during a 25-year period until his death in September, 1981. His seminars were recorded and have been transcribed, and some of them are available in English in addition to his major and first book "Ecrits" (Lacan, 1966, 1977). His theoretical work appears to be very different and has been described as nonsense by some of his critics in North America. An excellent reference which maps the teaching of Lacan has been published by Muller and Richardson (1982).

The major part of Lacan's teaching is illuminated when we assume that all the complexity of the concepts he proposed is rooted in his clinical work with patients. Perhaps we can fashion from this big tree some simple tools, in order to put some marks on the map where as a counsellor, psychoanalyst or psychologist we are staying, and without which we are completely lost. This sketch will introduce three of the most important Lacanian concepts – the three registers. These organize the relationship between the subject and what he has to face; they are referred to as the symbolic, the imaginary and what Lacan calls "le Reel" (the Real). Because the easiest way to gain an introduction to Lacanian theory is by way of example, a story is presented as told by Joe Eagle-Elk (1983), a Lakota Medicine Man. He speaks of changes in the way of life amongst the people of the Rosebud Sioux reservation:

> In former times, when the people would go to the river to swim, bath, or wash their clothes the children would accompany them and play along the bank in the sand and willows. When the chores were completed they would call the children together and commence the walk back to their camp. A few of the adults would stay behind to wipe out the tracks of the children. Just prior to leaving, these adults would stop and call to the area where the children were playing, saying, "Come on! Come on!" Calling the names of the children, "We are leaving." The question was asked: Why would you call the children when they were already there? Joe Eagle-Elk answered saying, "It is the spirits of the children that we are calling." He further elaborated, "Now our children are all in the bush (forest) and the tracks are everywhere but they are lost."

This short speech of Joe Eagle-Elk would normally be considered as little more than the quaint ramblings of an old man who continues to reminisce about a time of magical thinking and the world of spirits. Viewed in another perspective, however, it contains a wisdom, a knowledge of the situation which exists in the Indian world.

The Lacanian structure recognizes "the calling" as the central theme of the presentation. This "calling" is understood as the process of identifying, recognizing and naming. In other words, it is the statement of the "Law of the Father." This law relates to the statement of the symbolic father, not to be confused with the biological father or the father of the nuclear family. The "law" is articulated with the power of the "name of the father." It is a statement of what is, of existence and of society; it is the basis of the symbolic register.

Inasmuch as the naming of the child recognizes the place of the father, in present days by the giving of the last name it recognizes the heritage, the line and thus the history of the child. In former times the name, although related to animals, rocks, places or events, established the place of the father perhaps even more clearly. The dept one owes to the name is an invariant, to an historical process, i.e., to the truth and to the symbolic order.

The second major point of the presentation relates to the wiping away of the tracks. "A few adults would stay behind to wipe out the tracks of the children." The question, of course, is what do the tracks represent? They are the imprint of the children, they represent an aspect of the activities that has taken place, i.e., the play of the children. In that way they are the record of something of reality. By looking at the tracks, one can reconstruct what had happened, can imagine the activities. Thus, to sweep away the tracks is to wipe out the imaginary, the representation of reality.

The function of the imaginary is to inform, i.e., it is a sign. Lacan differentiated between a sign and what he called a signifier. The sign is a representation of a specific aspect of reality. However, it does not have a referent in the symbolic order, while the signifier represents the subject for another signifier.

The third point of the analysis is to understand the final statement: "Now the tracks are everywhere and the children are lost." This is clearly a statement about "le Reel." The implication is that the tracks continue on forever, crossing and criss-crossing without meaning. The imaginary register is faced with the impossible task of formulating laws. This – the making of laws – is a function of the symbolic register not the imaginary, which can only compete. Further, we can see the proliferation of the tracks without rules, i.e., a map is the "le Reel," the undeciferable, the confusion.

Through Lacanian analysis, we come to understand that the tracks represent the history, both personal and racial, of the children. Thus, the weight of the historical baggage cannot be abandoned, for it remains in "le Reel." The only way the Real can be reduced is through the process of symbolizing the creation of laws that structure, frame and, by doing so, destroy "le Reel."

In summary, Lacan proposes a division of mental material into three dimensions: the symbolic, the imaginary and the Real. The symbolic is the place of the laws, structure and the signifier. Laws are the true essence of the unconscious by which the individual's experiences are transformed into his personal living myths. The symbolic is structured like a language, where language is a system of signs. These signs are composed of a relationship between a signifying component (sound image) and a signified component (concept). Speech is the executive side of language, the actual execution of it by the individual. Our concern is with the laws of language not of speech.

The imaginary is the dimension of images, the reflection, reality. It should be pointed out that Lacan recognized that the image has an inherent distortion. He described this distortion in his paradigm of the child recognizing his image in the mirror. The mirror image has distortions, however, the child perceives the image as himself. This image with its distortions is not the self, it is an alien; and yet it is the only interface for the interaction between the self and the world.

Summary and Conclusions

Based on our knowledge of the literature to date, our personal experience and in no small measure our own assumptions, we offer the following general suggestions:

1. More Native people need to be trained as counsellors. They will benefit both the practice and the development of counselling. Only in this way is the inertia of the "system" likely to be overcome in the near term and truly innovative and emicly (Berry, 1980) sound counselling approaches developed.
2. The counselling of Native people need not, and perhaps ought not, become the exclusive domain of Native counsellors. Benefits can come from a therapeutic situation which requires cross-cultural communication. Indeed, counselling would be compromised and unduly limited if an ethos of only "like-counsel-like" prevailed.

3. Explicit training in intercultural communication skills and understanding is required and such skills should be viewed as core elements in any counselling programme. Exactly how this is to be achieved is still not entirely resolved, but in the past few years great advances have been made and the future pointed to by scholars such as Wolfgang (1983), Sue (1981) and Pedersen et al. (1981).
4. The counselling model used by a counsellor must be selected, modified or devised such that it is sensitive to and useful for the Native client. Toward this end, it may prove instructive for counsellors to pay greater attention to indigenous aboriginal American psychiatric theories and practices.
5. Familiarity with Lacanian theory (Lacan 1966, 1977) might be beneficial to the counsellor in his paradigm search. This is advocated, as it is a model which allows great sensitivity to the cultural context. It is an approach in which the meaning of the clients words are central to therapy, and in which the clinician's task is to ensure he really understands the client's words.
6. Automatic benefits of the "professional" counselling process must never be taken for granted. Indeed, the sheer act of "counselling" may in some circumstances be presumptuous. Informal community-based support networks may be better perceived, less stigmatizing and far more beneficial. The counsellor must continually assess and evaluate his role in the community.
7. Finally, as the counselling role is not alien to the Native community (e.g., false face, dream interpretation, psychodrama), an eclectic and radical approach to counselling model construction is advocated that builds upon these rich and substantial foundations. Indeed, it is envisaged that by a thorough emic analysis (Berry, 1980) of Native psychotherapeutic approaches, a superordinate model of counselling may emerge (the derived etic) which will prove of great value not just to Canada's aboriginal peoples but to its immigrants of more recent years as well.

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Counselling European Immigrants: Issues and Answers

John O. Wyspianski
and Lynn A. Fournier-Ruggles

In a comparative study of Europeans and Americans "A Comparative Overview" in *Guidance and Counselling Around the World* (Drapela, 1979), Thomas J. Donahue has provided some pivotal concepts and generalizations about European traditions and social values. Some of these generalizations are:

> 1. Europe has a more easily identifiable class structure . . . [therefore] members of the working class and leisure class find it easier to accept their respective roles in society and identify more closely with their economic class [than their American counterparts].
> 2. Europeans are more likely to evaluate a new concept, practice, idea, or product carefully before trying it . . . They are more apt to remain in the geographical region . . . They are more apt to have a . . . life occupation rather than a career which includes a variety of occupations . . .
> 3. Most European countries collect a church tax along with income tax, allow religion to be taught in public schools, and some countries support parochial schools with tax revenues . . .

These generalizations, then, provide the preliminary basis for comparing the European immigrant's philosophy and ways of life to that of the Canadian context.

Canada is a country made up of a mosaic of peoples from different parts of the world and remains diverse in its cultural traditions and

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John O. Wyspianski, Ph.D., is Professor of Organizational Psychology and Human Resource Development in the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Lynn A. Fournier-Ruggles, B.A., is a Case Presenting Officer at the Refugee Status Advisory Committee of Canada Employment and Immigration, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

backgrounds. A distinctive feature of this country is Canada's two official working languages, and two dominant but not exclusive cultures. According to the 1981 Canadian Census, 3,843,335 persons or 16 percent of the population came to Canada as immigrants. Approximately 36 percent of all immigrants to Canada originated from Europe in the period between 1970 and 1981. Europe has been, and currently remains, Canada's primary source of immigrants.

Historically, the building of this country required manpower that simply was not sufficiently available at home. Immigrant labour forces were encouraged and necessary to build railways and canals, and contributed to the growth and wealth of Canada. Prior to 1945, over three-quarters of all immigrants came from Europe, and particularly from the United Kingdom. Following the war, for the 1945 to 1954 period, 92.5 percent of all immigrants who came to Canada were born in Europe, and according to Statistics Canada, are still residing here. Like those before them, the new Canadian-Europeans bring different sets of social values and cultural customs, in addition to their different religious and political philosophies.

Although the newcomer is rich in knowledge and experiences from the homeland, undoubtedly the transition to a new country and new culture requires adaptation. Adaptation involves adjusting to a whole new social, political and economic reality, to new rules and regulations, new living, family and education conditions, new health and social services, housing, transportation, wage and property laws, banking and a new political system. To exist in Canada, then, requires adjustment to community services, habits, customs and social values (Ferguson, 1978). The anxiety arising from the change can become overwhelming for the individual and his/her family as they try to break down the cultural barriers. Even the most prepared will encounter some degree of culture shock.

"Culture shock," as defined by P.S. Adler, "is primarily a set of emotional reactions to the loss of perceptual reinforcements from one's own culture, to new cultural stimuli which have little or no meaning, and to the misunderstanding of new and diverse experiences" (Adler, 1975). Official Canadian policy states that opportunity for self-development and potential for success are available and universal. However, the newcomer in an adopted land remains at a disadvantage due to a lack of procedural knowledge in actualizing his potential. However, the cultural transition may be ameliorated by a counselling program prior to departure. Counselling increases the potential for successful adjustment and may lessen the intensity of culture shock if such counselling provides an accurate picture of Canada's geography, climatic changes, people, opportunities for employment and education.

Selection officers and overseas counsellors can offer significant information to aid him. Also critical is the support that family, friends and sponsors offer. Nonetheless, there are a number of issues pertinent to understanding the transition of the newcomer to our country. These issues relate to educational, career and social counselling.

Language and Communication

Of all the possible barriers, language is perhaps the greatest obstacle. The new Canadian will encounter many situations in which language will be the greatest handicap. The newcomer will experience difficulty with a plethora of situations from dealing with government officials, to employers, and a range of other social situations: landlords, schools, hospitals and community service groups. One's lack of vocabulary and knowledge of the syntax of the new language can contribute to feelings of inadequacy and/or inferiority. Subtleties of the cultural nuances in the language patterns are confusing and frustrating. The new Canadian will have to rely on family, friends or sponsors during the first few months in Canada. Others, who arrive as refugees, for example, are not as prepared and may even feel greater loss and desperation in their daily routines.

A more specific area of concern is the potential for a problematic relationship between the counsellor and client when counselling is not done in the client's native language. If clients lack sufficient fluency in either of Canada's official languages, they will resort to shorter and simpler sentences. Furthermore, Canada is a regionally diversified country and specific idioms are easily lost to clients. As a consequence, the dialogue (in counselling) results in less elaboration. Both the fullness of meaning and their affect are neither developed nor perceived. Accordingly and erroneously, the client is perceived as less intelligent. However, many Europeans possessing more than one language can acquire a new one with greater ease than many Canadians.

A second area of major difficulty is nonverbal behavior. Just as there are language barriers for the new Canadian, there are also communication barriers of the nonverbal kind. There exists great potential for misinterpretation of interpersonal behavior like hugging, bowing and eye contact because they are culturally bound and not universal (Sue & Sue, 1971). The kissing of a woman's hand or a friendly bear hug between two men may be seen as deviant behaviours in the Canadian society. Fortunately, with our rich past and *melange* of peoples, the average Canadian can become aware of these behaviours and respond appropriately.

Education

For the new Canadian, some adjustments to the new education system are necessary. As well as having to overcome language barriers and other unfamiliarities (such as new community, classmates and customs), the student has to adapt to a totally new system, standards and expectations.

First and foremost, there is the issue of fitting into the system: either catching up in the curriculum or being placed in a higher grade for the student's age group. While such subjects as mathematics and science may in some instances be easy, other more culturally bound subjects can be very problematic, for example, Canadian history, geography and literature. Faced with a new array of cultural phenomena, the student may have to develop new mental pictures for certain objects which are varied from one culure to another, (i.e., American football versus soccer) (Ferguson, 1978).

Secondly, the once appropriate and certain models for student behavior become ambivalent in the new cultural setting. According to Donahue (1978), "Europeans generally have a greater respect for adult authority figures . . . By tradition, Europeans tend to look up to their educators . . . [and] student-teacher relationships are generally more formal in Europe." Informal relationships, open discussions or debates between students and teacher may appear to the new Canadian as being outrageous or even bold. Germans are characterized by a "highly competitive involvement of both students and their parents in educational pursuits," often "without regard for their vocational goals and academic learning" (Drapela, 1979). France too, places great value on educational attainment without much regard to career choice decisions (Tolbert, 1978). Instead, many European students must make their career choices several years before their Canadian counterparts. Higher education available to those who can pass the rigid entrance examinations or apprenticeship programs lead to life occupations.

In contrast, in Canada, it is becoming increasingly prevalent for one to have two or three career changes during one's working life. Therefore, career decisions during one's secondary education years are not as crucial nor as binding.

Drapela (1979) in his methodology for counselling, proposes that the counsellor examine the education system and level of literacy of the foreign country. It is our belief that when the counsellors have formed an accurate picture of the education system abroad, then they can better understand the needs and adjustment requirements of the client. As the student tries to adapt to classmates' lifestyles, the family may apply pressure to remain competitive and serious in studies, sometimes beyond the norm of the classmates. The student begins to appear to the parents as lacking in discipline and being too independent and frivolous with time.

Family

The transition from the "old" to the "new" country will inevitably place strains on the family. During the critical period of adjustment, and possibly beyond this time, relationships are often threatened. In the typical patriarchical family structure, husband-wife relationships tend to be more one-sided, where the women is often treated as nothing more than a grown-up child in the family. Threatened by women's liberal attitudes and behaviour in this country, the head of the household may impose extreme codes of behaviour for his wife and daughter(s). For the male, adjustment may mean having to come to terms with the emancipated woman, not only the neighbour or co-worker, but also his own wife or daughter(s).

The immigrant woman's role in Canadian society requires adaptation. The traditional primary roles of mother, homemaker, church and community organizer may become secondary to the roles of wage earner and/or student. Her role and its implications are discussed later in this paper.

Parents may find Canada and its youth to be undisciplined and its society too permissive. Strong family obligations, respect for one's elders and prolonged parental control are culturally bound. The strong desire to preserve cultural traditions often prevents the full progression into society. The child's desire, on the other hand, to integrate may conflict with the parents' desire to keep family traditions, customs and ways of life. There is an island of culture at home and another at school that the child must learn to cope with. The youth as well as the parent may not be able to recognize and differentiate between these two domains.

The task is to lessen the confusion by finding the right "fit" between the new Canadian and the new society. Neither parent nor child should ever have to make a choice between a strict adherence or rejection of the "old" ways. The new Canadian must be given guidance and time in order to achieve a rich balance between old and new.

Age

This paper cannot be complete without addressing the issue of age. We assume the young are more flexible and thus able to change and integrate into society. Older people may be more rigid and less able to adapt to a new environment. The question is how to help those who are aged to adapt to a new environment. Grandparents who accompany their children and grandchildren find that they've lost the status in the family and community they relished in their homelands. Very often they do not have the opportunities for interacting with Canadians, as they may not belong to the work force, and their contact to the outside world is limited. Many live in the isolation of their children's hearths. They may never learn the new language. They are left to communicate only with close friends and family. When family or friends work or go to school, the elderly person's isolation is only increased. For the European, the family serves as the primary if not the sole support system (Wehrly, 1982), and it is critical that the structure be maintained to facilitate adjustment to Canadian society.

Career Development

The Canadian-European arrives with expectations of success. The professional and skilled tradespersons should, before leaving their homeland, be made aware of the equivalent requirements for their field in Canada. Examinations or up-grading to meet Canadian standards may be necessary before one can work or practice one's trade.

New arrivals need to know how to apply for work, understand the various systems of regulations such as health and unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation and manpower training programs. In addition, they must also learn federal and provincial laws with regard to wages, working conditions and human rights. This is a vast amount of research for someone who has to reorganize life in adapting to the new country.

According to Wehrly (1982) the socioeconomic status of the family has a tremendous impact on career development. Specifically, the level of educational attainment and occupational status determined by the family's social status can affect the level of the children's status. The goal of a counselling program then should foster enhanced individualization rather than the mere continuance of the family's status.

Women

The Minister of State for Multiculturalism in a speech delivered to the Immigrant Women in Canada Conference discussed important issues facing the immigrant women. The discussion emphasized the social issues of language barriers, dead-end jobs and under-employment when adjusting to a different culture. Child-rearing and a different educational system were also singled out for special attention.

The immigrant woman is viewed as the keeper of the indigenous culture and the protector of ethnic loyalty within the family unit. She may also add to the financial management of the household by contributing the second pay cheque. Typically, the immigrant woman has the almost impossible task of combining domestic and career roles, taking language courses, also organizing and establishing the household, maintaining job security, integrating lifestyle changes, learning about social services, and shopping. Being so busy and lacking verbal proficiency, she may resign herself to a state of isolation or to a dead-end job. One characteristic which several social scientists have noted about immigrant women, is that when they are discriminated against, they do not become bitter or aggressive but resigned to their lot (Honourable J. Fleming, 1981).

Answers

Every country has different methods of handling educational, career, and social problems, and Canadian-Europeans may simply not know what counselling and guidance is offered. Concomitantly, they may not know where to go to receive such services. Europeans turn instead to the advice given by family and good friends rather than professional counsellors. If and when they do seek professional services, they will have already derived a set of expectations from counselling and have preconceived notions from the prior counselling. Advice is sought on the basis of experience. The overseas counselling should be sufficient to provide the necessary ingredients to launch a new life. There should be no "pie-in-the-sky" stories about life in Canada: the information should be frank and accurate. Immigration officials should provide seminars and workshops centered around simulations of difficult situations. The more unprepared immigrants are, the more they will be faced with disappointment and disillusionment. The delivery of accurate and detailed information on a broad scope is the means by which the newcomers can prepare themselves for arrival – to come in a state of readiness to change. Accordingly, upon arrival, the practical concerns are also in need of detailed specification and in turn need to be oriented to the multiplicity of differences, aspirations and needs. It is equally important that the counsellor recognize cultural differences as acceptable in the Canadian context. The clients have the prerogative to adapt at their own pace.

A potentially useful model is presented in the work of Sue and Sue (1977) who outline three steps for action oriented counselling: "a) Initiating counselling, b) structuring the interview, and c) helping clients cope with pressing social problems of immediate concern to them." Draguns (1981) proposes that "the counsellor should approach the experience of counselling across culture lines with openness and flexibility and should be prepared to modify approaches in the service of greater cultural sensitivity."

Several recommendations can now be suggested to ease the plight of the European immigrant. First, the counsellor must empathize with the immigrant. By extension, immigrants should not have to deny their cultural or personal identity, or reject traditions to achieve adjustment.

Where language difficulties are concerned, if a counsellor is not fluent in the mother-tongue of the client, he/she should become familiar with the cultural differences in nonverbal communication to ensure that he/she and the client are on the same wavelength.

Guidance and career counsellors must work closely with educators to provide clients with the best possible services available to them. It is important that the necessary information concerning professional or vocational standards facilitate entry into the appropriate training or educational program should the need arise.

European immigrants come to the counsellor for advice and guidance. They perceive the counsellor not as someone who will help sort out problems but rather as the authority figure who knows the answers. The counsellor must be prepared to be more directive in providing these.

This approach is foreign to the North American counsellor. It is our conclusion that unless counsellors genuinely accommodate the distinct cultural mileau of the client they cannot truly understand the complexity of the problem.

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Psychological Adaptation of Foreign Students

John W. Berry

> You are aware that a multitude of scholars from divers parts, as well from this side the sea as from overseas, meets at our town . . . for study, which we hold a very gratifying and desirable thing, since no small benefit and glory accrues therefrom to our whole realm . . . Unless you conduct yourselves with more restraint and moderation towards them . . . they will be driven by your exactions to leave your town and, abandoning their studies, leave the country, which we by no means desire.
>
> King Henry III of England, addressing the citizens
> of Cambridge in the year 1231
> quoted in *A Policy for Overseas Students*, Overseas Students Trust,
> London, 1982

In reviewing this area, I am taking a perspective provided by the field of research dealing with acculturation and mental health, rather than a perspective provided by counselling work with foreign students. The advantage of this approach is that some of the broader issues and dimensions may be displayed, while an obvious disadvantage is that some specific information which may be gained from counselling work with foreign students will be missed. In writing this paper from the acculturation perspective, it is important that readers with a counselling background attempt to relate their own professional knowledge and experience to the framework being presented.

John W. Berry, Ph.D., is Professor of Psychology in the Department of Psychology at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, and President of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology.

Psychological Adaptation and Acculturation

In the field of cross-cultural psychology, one of the current areas of active research is on the relationship between the individual's experience of acculturation and the psychological adaptations achieved by the individual (Berry 1980, 1983). Acculturation refers to those modifications which occur due to continuous first-hand contact with another culture, resulting in both socio-cultural (group-level) and behavioural (individual-level) changes.

A distinction has been made between shifts and stress phenomena during acculturation (Berry, 1980). *Shifts* are those changes which occur in pre-existing customs or habits so that they take on new aspects; for example, language behaviour, religious beliefs, attitudes, values and abilities are all known to change over the course of acculturation. In contrast, acculturative *stress* is a new phenomenon which is generated during acculturation; for example, mental health problems, deviance and social disintegration may appear with acculturation. Two points need to be added immediately: one is that these stress phenomena obviously preexist acculturation to some extent, but usually are "under control," unlike the novel stress pattern which is apparent during acculturation; a second is that stress phenomena do not inevitably occur during acculturation, but seem to depend upon a host of moderating variables (Berry & Kim, 1984).

The notion of psychological adaptation refers to the complex pattern of individual behaviours and states which can be theoretically and empirically linked to acculturation experience, including both shifts and stress. It refers to how an individual goes about dealing with acculturative influences (a focus on the processes and strategies), and to what the individual is like as a result (abilities, attitudes, values, identity, etc.).

In the literature on acculturation and psychological adaptation, a number of important dimensions have been identified. These include the varieties or modes of acculturation, the course of acculturation, and the cultural and behavioural domains in which acculturation takes place. The latter part of this paper will outline these issues and attempt to relate them to the foreign student experience in Canada. But first, it is necessary to consider the general characteristics of the foreign student situation in this country, and (to a lesser extent) its relationship to the situation in other countries.

Foreign Students in Canada

Recent public concern with the numbers of foreign students in Canada (see CBIE, 1981), and with their treatment by immigration authorities, by tuition policies ("differential fees"), and by private institutions ("visa schools"), have all served to make us generally more aware of the existence of foreign students. But few are aware of their overall numbers, their country of origin, their distribution across Canada, or how the Canadian experience compares with other host countries. In the decade 1973–1982 the number of foreign students in Canada has more than doubled (from about 30,000 to nearly 70,000), and the rate of increase in the last three years (1980–1982) has been extremely rapid. The destinations of these students is variable. Quebec, Ontario and B.C. are the major geographical destinations (accounting for 55,000 of the 67,000 students), while university study is the single most frequent (37,000) level of study. The large numbers of secondary school students (16,000) is of particular interest. This is a recent phenomenon and represents the practice of students coming to Canada for an "educational package" consisting of a few last years of secondary, combined with post-secondary education. With respect to types of study, social sciences lead (27%) followed by Engineering, Math and Physical Sciences.

Considering countries of origin, ten countries account for the bulk (44,000) of the foreign students in Canada (Hong Kong, Malaysia, USA, UK, Singapore, Trinidad and Tobago, Morocco, Venezuela, India and Libya). Even more to the point, only three countries (Hong Kong, Malaysia and USA) account for half (33,000) of the total number of foreign students in Canada.

In a comparative perspective, Canada ranks eighth in a list of ten major host countries (including, in order, the US, France, the USSR, the UK and Germany). The pattern for Canada is to have received in 1978 about half (10.3% vs. 18.9%) the average proportion of African students, about two to three times (22.7% vs. 9.5%) the proportion of North American and Caribbean students (but predominantly American), and about an average proportion of students from the other regions. Since 1978, the proportions have shifted upward for students from Asia (from 40.9% to 53.2%), and downward for students from Europe (from 18.5% to 9.1%).

What does this general picture tell us? First, Canada has a large and increasing number of foreign students. Although the beginning of quotas and of diffential fees may level out the rate of increase, it is not likely to actually decrease the overall numbers. Thus, counsellors in post-secondary, and increasingly in secondary, institutions must take seriously the needs of this sizeable population. Second, some regions are necessarily going to have to meet these needs more than others (in particular Ontario, Quebec and B.C.). And third, the single most important culture area to learn to deal with is Asia, including a variety of Chinese populations, and now others (e.g., Malays).

Modes of Acculturation

The process of acculturation is not likely to follow the same mode for all groups, or for all individuals in the same group. At one time it was assumed that all "continuous first-hand contact" would inevitably lead to the absorption of the non-dominant by the dominant group, or to the amalgamation of the two groups. However, the mode of acculturation is now generally thought to depend on a variety of factors, including the nature of the two groups in contact and the wishes of the individual members of the groups.

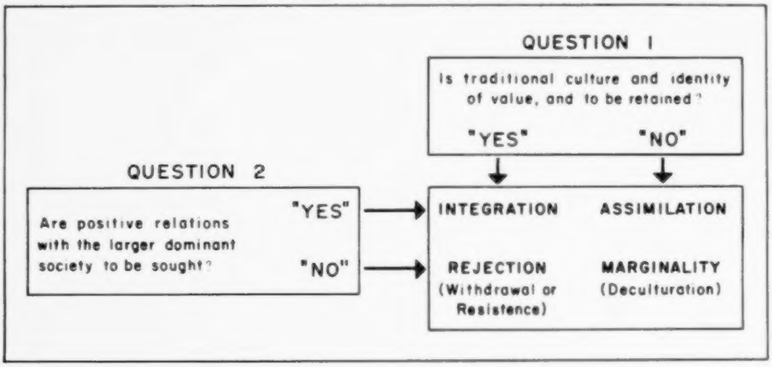
With respect to group characteristics, the host or dominant group may vary from pluralistic (tolerating much diversity) through to monistic (insisting on one cultural norm). In the latter situation, acculturation may involve much pressure on non-dominant groups to conform, resulting perhaps in conflict, and eventual group absorption. In the former, little pressure to change may result in cultural maintenance in many areas, even within the framework of a larger society.

Turning to relevant characteristics of non-dominant groups, the five major categories of acculturating groups (immigrants, refugees, Native peoples, ethnic groups and sojourners) may experience acculturation in different ways and to different extents. For example, Native peoples may resist, while immigrants may seek out, change in a variety of cultural practices such as language use, economic roles and political participation; ethnic groups, with a long-term commitment, and sojourners with a temporary commitment, may seek differing penetration of the cultural system of the society around them (Jacobson, 1963). Thus, we may conclude from these distinctions and examples that the mode of acculturation which will be experienced by groups and individuals will not be invariant. We must look carefully at the group conditions under which acculturation takes place if we are to comprehend the psychological adaptations which are likely to take place.

One analysis (Berry, 1974) proposes that at least four differing modes of acculturation are possible. These may be illustrated by noting that individuals during acculturation are confronted daily by two important questions, which for purposes of presentation may be given dichotomous "yes" or "no" answers: "Is my cultural identity of value and to be retained?" and "Are positive relations with the larger (dominant) society to be sought?" In this manner, four distinct varieties of acculturation may be identified: assimilation, integration, rejection, and deculturation (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Four Modes of Acculturation Based upon Responses to Two Questions


QUESTION 1
Is traditional culture and identity of value, and to be retained?
"YES"
"NO"
QUESTION 2
Are positive relations with the larger dominant society to be sought?
"YES"
"NO"
INTEGRATION
ASSIMILATION
REJECTION (Withdrawal or Resistence)
MARGINALITY (Deculturation)

By answering "yes" to the question, "Are positive relations with the dominant society to be sought?", we have two varieties of acculturation which are distinguished by the contrasting value placed on the retention of cultural identity: assimilation and integration. In the case of assimilation, relinguishing cultural identity and moving into the larger society is the option taken. This can take place by way of the absorption of a non-dominant group into an established "main-stream," or it can be by way of the merging of many groups to form a new society (the "melting pot").

Integration, in contrast, implies the maintenance of cultural integrity as well as the movement to become an integral part of a larger societal framework. Therefore, in the case of integration, the option taken is to retain cultural identity and move to join with the dominant society. In this case there is a large number of ethnic groups, all cooperating within a larger social system (the "mosaic").

Let us consider the types of acculturation that are identified by answering "no" to the question of establishing or maintaining positive relations with the larger society. Rejection refers to self-imposed withdrawal from the larger society. However, when imposed by the larger society, it becomes one of the classical forms of segregation. Thus, the maintenance of one's traditional way of life outside full participation in the larger society may be due to a desire on the part of the group to lead an independent existence (as in the case of "separatist" movements), or it may be due to power exercised by the larger society to keep people in "their place" (as in slavery or apartheid situations).

Finally, there is an option which is difficult to define precisely, possibly because it is accompanied by a good deal of collective and individual confusion and anxiety. It is characterized by striking out against the larger society and by feelings of alienation, loss of identity, and what we have termed acculturative stress. This option is deculturation, in which groups are out of cultural and psychological contact with either their traditional culture or the larger society. When imposed by the larger society, it is tantamount to ethnocide. When stabilized in a non-dominant group, it constitutes the classical situation of "marginality."

These four modes of acculturation are all, in principle, possible; evidence for all four exists in the acculturation literature, but they vary in frequency according to group characteristics (outlined above). For example assimilation is more likely to occur in monistic societies, while integration is more likely in pluralistic societies; similarly, immigrants are more likely to choose assimilation as a strategy than are Native peoples. What about sojourners in a country like Canada?

A number of indicators can be examined. First, sojourners in Canada (including foreign students) are present for a specified time and know that their return home is almost inevitable (at least initially, given immigration regulations). Moreover, Canada is officially multicultural (since 1971), and Canadians generally are accepting of cultural diversity within the population (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977); and this tolerance is particularly evident among those with higher levels of education, such as in communities surrounding university life. This set of indicators suggests that both from the point of view of the socio-cultural context surrounding the foreign student, and the motives for the sojourn, assimilation is not likely to be the main mode of acculturation. Rather, a major degree of cultural maintenance is more likely, with or without substantial contacts with the host society. Thus, integration or rejection modes (both involving cultural maintenance) are possible, but given the (usually) voluntary presence of the student in Canada, rejection may be less likely than integration. Finally, in cases where the student is cut off from his cultural base (for example being "one of a kind" on campus), and has no ready access to the host culture, feelings of marginality may be manifested (deculturation).

While I know of no studies which have actually employed this model for analysis with foreign students, its applicability to other types of acculturating groups has been demonstrated (Berry, 1983), and thus it may be a useful conceptual tool for understanding foreign students and their achievements and problems in Canada. One way in which such analysis may be particularly useful is with respect to the course of acculturation over time: different modes, with associated different psychological adaptations, may be employed at different times over the course of a soujourner's stay in the host country.

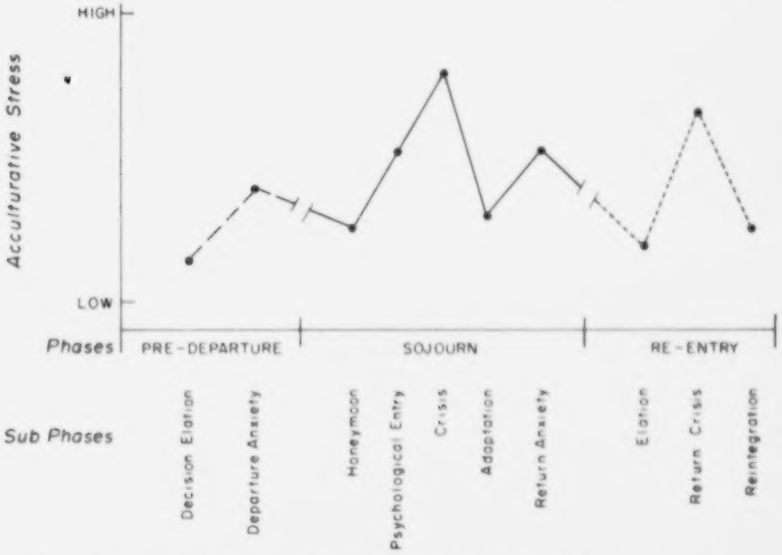
Course of Acculturation

Original formulations of the course of acculturation often mention three phases: contact, conflict and adaptation. At initial contact, two more or less autonomous cultural groups come together with their full sets of customs and habits firmly in place. Over time, especially when compatibility was low or dominance was high (with pressure to change being placed by one group on the other), a conflict period develops, in which individuals often experience a crisis of identity. The resolution of this conflict/crisis phase may occur by way of any of the four modes outlined in the previous section.

These three phases now appear to be in need of elaboration, especially for the experience of sojourners. Prior to leaving for the host country some degree of acculturation (by informal rehearsal or by formal pre-departure programmes) usually takes place; later, just prior to departure from the host country, a preparation for reacculturation (to the home country) often begins; and after re-entry, further changes takes place when people "undergo a reacculturation process in their home environments similar to that experienced abroad" (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963, p. 39). A schematic representation of the general course is indicated in Figure 2. This figure has been informed by the "returning home" programme developed by Westwood (1983), and some parts of the course have been documented. In particular, the rise in stress in the period after arrival, after the "honeymoon phase" (Brislin, 1981), and during "psychological entry" (Tyhurst, 1980) has evidence to support it. So too has the tendency for stress to rise just before departure from both the home country (Yeh, Alexander & Klein, 1981) and from the host country (Selltiz & Cook, 1962), and again before reintegration at home is accomplished.

Figure 2

Hypothetical Course of Acculturative Stress of Sojourners



This figure portrays a cycle of stress-related psychological reactions; the key message is that mood and other psychological phenomena (attitudes, interpersonal and intergroup relations, academic engagement, etc.) are all likely to fluctuate over the course of the sojourner's stay in Canada (as well as before and after the stay). The counsellor should be aware of the possible transitory nature of the problem and anticipate even further changes during the course of the sojourn.

Domains of Adaptation

In addition to variations due to modes of acculturation, and over time during the course of acculturation, there are also variations by domain: having to cope with environmental problems (climate, dress, housing, food, health, etc.) that may differ from socio-cultural problems (social norms, interpersonal and intergroup relations, social contact in general), and these may differ from coping with academic matters (courses, deadlines, exams, comprehension, etc. Furthermore, success in coping with these domains may affect ones psychological adaptation (mental health status, self-esteem, identity, etc.) and this in turn may affect how well one copes with the first three domains. Despite inter-relationships, it may be the case that the same level of adaptation may not be achieved in each domain. In this section, we will consider each of these four domains in turn, but in particular, we will attempt to discover how each of the first three contribute to the fourth (psychological adaptation).

Environmental Adaptation

Given that many foreign students come from the "South" to the "North," it is common to discover that simply coping with the cold and the grey are major sources of difficulty (for Britain, see Singh 1961; Tajfel & Dawson, 1965), although even going to a non-northern climate sometimes creates problems (Zaidi, 1975). The experience in Canada, while not well-documented, can only be assumed to be as difficult, if not more difficult, because of the more extreme climate than the situation reported in Britain. The contrast of overheated housing relative to external cold may create health and hygiene problems, and many foods (especially fresh fruits and vegetables common at home) are not available in winter, at least not at a reasonable cost and with a reasonable flavour. Growing up with these environmental factors may render us relatively immune to their persistent impact on our daily lives. However, those who meet them for the first time often wonder aloud how we can stand it, but may not linger in the cold long enough to be told. While mundane, such environmental factors as these may have severe consequences for some and should not be overlooked in the counselling process.

Socio-Cultural Adaptation

In this domain are those aspects of Canadian society and culture which may impinge upon the foreign student. Many problems in this domain were identified by Amichand (1972) in his survey of international student advisors in Canada. One area is the issue of ethnicity and ethnic group relations. On the positive side, as a pluralistic society there are likely to be existing networks of the student's own ethnic group already established in society which can assist in the adaptation process (Richmond & Kalbach, 1980). Second, as a pluralistic society we are less likely to place pressure on the sojourner to conform to a single cultural norm (Murphy, 1975). Third, as indicated previously, there is some evidence that levels of ethnic group tolerance are reasonably high (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977). All these factors suggest that coping with the socio-cultural situation in Canada may not be particularly difficult or stressful. However, in contrast to this expectation, it is important to remember that a high proportion of foreign students come from parts of the world where members of their particular ethnic groups are not numerous nor very well established in Canadian society. Moreover, the stereotypical reserve and superficial friendliness of Anglo-celtics (and some other Canadians) may make it difficult for foreign students to establish the degree of warm and supportive contacts with members of the host society which they desire (Berry & Kostovcik, 1983; Neice & Braun, 1977). These factors suggest that coping may not be all that easy for at least some foreign students in Canada. Finally, having two official (and many heritage) languages widely used in Canadian society suggests that students (who are well advised ahead of time) may be able to select geographical areas for their sojourn where some degree of linguistic compatibility may be achieved, both for socio-cultural adaptation as well as for academic work.

Academic Adaptation

Given that foreign students are here as students, their ability to cope with academic life is central to their adaptation. Indeed, in the one comprehensive survey of foreign students in Canada (Neice and Braun, 1977), adjustment was measured primarily in terms of academic indicators (academic problems, grades, satisfaction with programme and use of institutional services); language skills were also assessed as an important vehicle for academic adaptation. In that study, 48% were judged to have an "excellent" command of English or French, 37% had "good," and 15% had "fair" to "poor" command; however, these proportions varied greatly by region of origin, with some Asian student groups having only about one quarter rated as having an "excellent" command.

With respect to various academic problem areas, a total of 42% claimed "some" or "many" problems in following course material, 41%

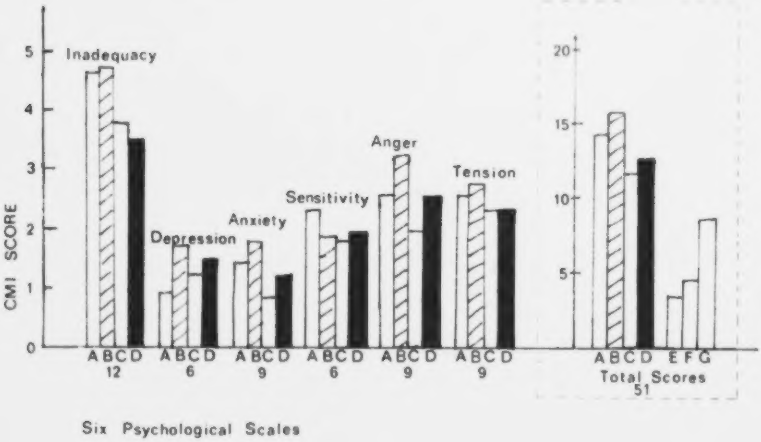
in writing essays, 33% in writing examinations, and 27% in understanding the language. These represent substantial proportions of students who are unable to achieve good academic adaptation. (However, once again, the percentages vary by region of origin such that some Asian students experience many problems, while those from the U.S. and other developed nations experience relatively few.) The lesson to be taken from the data concerning language and academic problems is that just because a foreign student has been admitted to a Canadian University, even on the bases of a good academic record and a good ESL score, there is no guarantee that such problems will be infrequent. The evidence is that, on the contrary, such problems are quite frequent, and counsellors need to be aware of their statistical probability for any particular client group.

In the Neice and Braun (1977) study, the use of foreign student advisory services was generally quite high (76% of students reported using them), but once again use varied by region of origin. However, in addition, use also varied by academic level (academically poorer students used the services less), and by level of financial support (economically poorer students used the services less). To some extent, then, students who may be most in need of such services may be those using them least. The implication of this pattern is that counselling should attempt to identify those groups which, statistically, may be more in need, and to attempt to provide services without waiting to be approached.

Psychological Adaptation

Only a few studies have been traced which attempt to assess directly the psychological adaptation of foreign students in Canada (e.g., Dyal, Chan & Bertrand, 1982). Usually, these studies infer such adaptation on the basis of good adaptation in the other domains. Thus, it is not possible to establish the general situation in this country at the present time. One indication, however, comes from a study of young Malays in High School (Berry & Kostovcik, 1983). Their findings, set in a comparative context, are illustrated in Figure 3, with data from the six psychological subscales from the Cornell Medical Index. Column A indicates the scores for Malayan students in Kingston on the six subscales (on the left) and the total score (in box on right); B and C are scores for Vietnamese evacuees in the U.S. (Masuda, Lin & Tazuma, 1979); D is the score for Vietnamese refugees (boat people) in Kingston (Berry & Blondel, 1982); E and F are American and British population estimates; and G is a sample of Queen's University students (to estimate stress due to university study *per se*, in the absence of acculturative pressures). Clearly the stress levels are high (relative to local, even university, populations) and match those obtained with refugee samples in Canada and the U.S. If such stress levels are generally the case among foreign students, and other evidence (such as Yeh et al., 1981; Yeh, 1983) suggests they might be, then a problem exists of some magnitude, which demands both research and professional attention.

Figure 3
Acculturative Stress Scores for Various Samples



Conclusions

Counselling foreign students certainly requires working with the student as an individual. However, from the point of view taken in this paper, the broader context in wich the student operates also needs to be understood. This context, as outlined, includes a number of important factors such as the nature of acculturation as a general phenomenon, the current numbers of foreign students in the country and their distribution, the various modes and phases of acculturation, and some indication of the domains in which acculturation characteristically takes place. By placing the issues in this context, it is hoped that counsellors may be able to bridge the gap between what is known and experienced in the profession, and some of the dimensions which have been identified from the perspective of cross-cultural psychology.

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PART V

Counselling Minorities in Specific Environments

PART V

Introduction

Part V is intended to provide a broad perspective, the background information and the guidelines for helping counsellors do a better job of counselling minorities in specific environments. Winston Tinglin's focus is on the specific counselling needs of minority immigrants in Ontario and especially in the context of Toronto where most immigrants tend to settle. The paper outlines a model of employment counselling and summarizes the kinds of strategies which have proven successful in the attempt to augment the smooth integration of new Canadians into the world of work. Similarly, the paper by William A. Borgen and Norman E. Amundson admirably delineates for us some of the findings of their research in the counselling of immigrant minorities for employment. Against that background, Borgen and Amundson proceed to explore the significant factors in making employment counselling more effective for ethnic minority immigrants within the context of the Canadian milieu.

In the next chapter, John Lewis reminds us that minorities (especially the poor, uneducated members) have had a significantly high incarceration rate in federal penitentiaries. Lewis shows that this is particularly true in the case of Native peoples and certain nonwhite immigrants. He then proceeds to pinpoint those factors that seem to contribute to the problems of those immigrants who end up in prison. Finally, the author presents us with guidelines for enhancing the counselling of minorities in the penitentiary setting.

In the following chapter, Arthur Brown deals with the counselling of minorities with learning or cognitive deficits. Brown's paper encompasses the aspects of psychological service, social work and psychiatric services and extends the connotation of counselling to embrace advice and consultation to parents, teachers and students. The author demonstrates the complex nature of the student body comprising the ethnic mix of the schools in Toronto, and then presents the implications for the provision of services and the involvement of the ethnic minority community in the decision-making process.

The paper by Marvin J. Westwood and James W. Vargo examines the cultural factors that shape the perceptions of physically disabled minority clients. The authors trace the etiology of cultural views and attitudes toward disability and delineate the common problems encountered by disabled individuals of distinct minority groups. Westwood and Vargo then proceed to outline the implications and recommendations for helping counsellors deal more effectively with what they term the "double-minority status clients."

The counselling of minorities for higher education is highlighted in Bill W. Dick's practical approach based on his experience as a director of university counselling services. The paper is focused first on the role and personality of the counsellor and the need for a philosophy and life view which allows the counsellor to accept the differences of ethnic minority students without imposing the values of the host society. Dick's paper is eminently practical in that it provides concrete and specific suggestions for those who deal with minority students in the environment of higher education.

Counselling Minority Immigrants for Employment

W.H. Tinglin

Who am I? Where do do I want to go? How do I get there? Simple questions, it would seem. But for many people entering the job market, the search for answers presents a formidable challenge. The last question is particularly difficult for immigrants, who, by virtue of being new to the local employment scene, lack the know-how to navigate through the system on their own. As the ensuing discussion will show, such individuals need effective orientation and guidance to become fully integrated within the Canadian labour force. Employment counselling needs are perhaps most acute among minority immigrants who, from present indications, encounter serious obstacles in their efforts to secure suitable employment (Reitz, Calzavara & Dasko, 1981; Muszynski, 1983; Nguyen, Cooke & Phung, 1983). The recent recessionary cycle has exacerbated the problem by drastically reducing opportunities for employment and occupational mobility. In such a climate, it can be argued, employment counselling has an especially important role to play.

What are the specific needs to which counselling should be directed? This is the central issue explored in this paper which also suggests a number of helping strategies for individual counsellors and service delivery systems. The discussion begins with a broad profile of minority immigrants and a look at their progress within the Canadian job market. Following this, a conceptual model of their employment goals will be presented. Salient features of the Canadian labour market are sub-

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Winston H. Tinglin, M.Ed., is a Consultant, Newcomer Services Branch in the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Toronto, Ontario, and a candidate for the Ph. D. at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

sequently reviewed, tracing related skill and resource needs. Finally, implications for employment counselling are outlined, taking into consideration cultural elements to which counsellors should be attuned.

Who Are Minority Immigrants?

According to the 1981 Census, nearly four million persons, or about 16 per cent of Canada's population are immigrants (Statistics Canada, 1983). Of this group 24 per cent came from Third World regions, namely Asia, the Caribbean, Central and South America, and Africa. Like other immigrant groups, they have their own distinctive cultural traditions. However, being largely non-white, they comprise a highly visible group, and as such they are particularly susceptible to differential treatment based upon stereotypical perceptions of racial minorities.

As Table I shows, minority immigrants are among the most recent newcomers to Canada. Most have arrived only within the last decade.

Table 1

Immigrant Population, Canada, by Place of Birth and Period of Immigration

Place of Birth	Totals	Before 1945	1945–1954	1955–1964	1965–1969	1970–1974	1975–1977	1978–1981*
Europe	2,563,235	426,030	625,990	658,910	395,375	237,815	118,415	100,705
U.S.A.	301,525	100,695	18,795	33,240	39,460	55,015	27,610	26,705
"Other" Asia	388,635	8,425	15,815	32,595	67,015	112,100	81,535	71,155
Caribbean Islands	171,435	1,435	3,445	12,205	35,000	62,420	34,985	21,940
Southeast Asia	152,165	245	1,360	3,020	11,545	31,190	27,230	77,580
Central and S. America	106,855	1,275	2,955	7,960	12,670	35,035	26,760	20,200
Africa**	101,745	1,030	1,650	12,515	19,995	30,490	21,730	14,335
Other	57,740	5,000	6,795	7,000	10,785	12,810	8,580	6,760
TOTAL	3,843,335	544,135	676,805	767,445	591,845	576,875	346,845	339,380

* First 5 months only

** Includes white immigration

Note: "Other" Asia includes India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and China. Southeast Asia includes Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and other parts of Indochina.

Source: Statistics Canada Census Update, April 26, 1983; reprinted by permission.

(Ironically, their arrival coincided with a period of steady economic decline.) While Third World immigration grew from 47 per cent of the total inflow in the early seventies to 60 per cent ten years later, European immigration declined over the same period from 41 per cent to 30 per cent.

Just over 52 per cent of all immigrants reside in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 1983). Approximately 58 per cent of this total live in Metropolitan Toronto (Ethnocultural Data Base, 1982a). Comparable estimates for minority immigrants tend to be significantly higher, rising in the case of some groups (notably West Indians) to over 70 per cent settlement in Ontario and Toronto (Ethnocultural Data Base, 1983).

On the whole, minority immigrants are a well-educated group. For example, 1976 Census data show that among mother tongue groups in Ontario, those from Third World regions match (and in some instances exceed) the educational levels of the English speaking group and the Ontario population as a whole. This point is illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2

Selected Mother Tongue Groups, 15 Years and Over, by Years of Education, 1976

Mother Tongue Group	University %	Other Post-Sec. %	Grade 11–13 %	Grade 9–10 %	Below Gr. 9 %
Chinese	34.4	11.5	20.9	10.6	22.3
Indo-Pakistani	50.1	13.4	15.2	8.8	12.3
Spanish	24.0	16.8	19.9	14.6	24.4
English	17.2	14.5	29.6	21.2	17.3
Ontario	16.5	14.0	26.9	19.6	22.7

Source: Ethnocultural Data Base, Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, 1982b; reprinted by permission.

West Indians are normally absorbed in data for the English-speaking group. Studied separately, however, as in a recent study of ethnic and racial groups in Toronto (Reitz et al., 1981), a similar pattern of relatively high educational attainment was confirmed. These results are not surprising in view of the fact that a large proportion of the immigrants who arrived in the late 1960s and the 1970s were admitted as independent immigrants, and as such met eligibility criteria which stressed educational and occupational qualifications. Some allowance must be made, however, for the impact of increased proportions of refugees and sponsored immigrants in successive cohorts since 1978. These groups contained a larger number of individuals with relatively little education. The mean educational level for this segment of the immigrant minority population would therefore be comparatively lower (Tri-Departmental Working Committee on Immigrant Services, 1983).

In general, many immigrants of working age participate in the labour force upon arrival in Canada (Richmond, 1982; Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, 1983). Studies of mother tongue groups and refugees from the Third World show significantly higher participation rates for minority immigrants than for native-born Canadians (Ethnocultural Data Base, 1982b; Samuel, 1984). Participation rates are particularly high among wives of refugees (Samuel, 1984).

Problems in the Work Force

However, one of the most serious difficulties encountered by minority immigrants is finding work in their intended occupation (Reitz et al., 1981; Richmond, 1982; Samuel, 1984; Nguyen et al., 1983). Indo-Chinese refugees experience particular difficulties, as a recent study of household heads in the Ottawa area illustrates (Nguyen et al., 1983). While 25 per cent of those surveyed had held skilled or professional positions in their home country, less than three per cent occupied such positions in Canada. Twenty-one per cent had been unskilled workers in their home country. In Canada 62 per cent fell within this category at the time of the survey. Evidently, this was not simply a by-product of first year settlement: 21 per cent had been in Canada for three years or more; only 10 per cent were residents of a year or less. Much of the problem has been attributed to language difficulties and lack of occupational skills relevant to the Canadian labour market (Tri-Department Working Committee on Immigrant Services, 1983).

But while the problems encountered by Indo-Chinese refugees may appear to be severe, other Third World immigrants experience similar difficulties in securing employment (Manpower and Immigration, 1974; Richmond, 1982). West Indians, for example, have been found to be over-concentrated in low-status and low-income jobs despite their education and work experience (Reitz et al., 1981). Indications are that these problems are likely to persist over time unless appropriate helping interventions are rapidly put in place (Muszynski, 1983).

As regards access to employment, and levels of income earned, several studies have arrived at the same conclusion: Third World immigrants generally experience higher levels of unemployment and earn lower incomes than immigrants from Europe – Britain in particular – the U.S.A. and Australia (Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974; Marr, 1976; Ornstein & Sharma, 1981; Employment and Immigration Canada, 1983b). Tables 3 and 4 provide interesting examples of these employment and income disparities. (Data for Africa are somewhat distorted by white immigration from this region; the experience of these whites is comparable to that of British immigrants). As a general rule, all immigrant incomes increase over time (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1983a), but such increases are usually not enough to close the gap between high-income and low-income groups, though some minority immigrant groups may fare better overall than others (Manpower and Immigration, 1974; Reitz et al., 1981; Employment and Immigration 1983a). Unemployment is especially high among immigrant minority youth (Tinglin, 1981).

Table 3

Percent Distribution of Labour Force Status of Male and Female Immigrants by Region of Last Permanent Residence

Region of Last Permanent Residence	Unemployed and Looking for Work			
	After Six Months		After One Year	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
U.K.	4.4	6.9	2.7	4.5
N. & E. Europe	4.3	9.5	6.7	21.7
France	8.3	25.0	9.1	5.9
West Europe	8.5	15.8	3.6	0.0
South Europe	8.7	13.5	9.7	16.5
Africa	10.9	16.6	3.9	12.9
Hong Kong and Taiwan	12.5	13.8	10.0	6.4
Southern Asia	17.2	27.7	15.1	27.4
South East Asia	13.1	10.9	7.4	2.2
Philippines	20.8	16.7	17.4	10.5
West Indies	11.4	14.6	5.0	19.4
U.S.A.	3.6	8.6	3.0	8.9
Middle East	18.1	11.3	17.2	17.9
Oceania	9.1	16.7	14.3	0.0

Source: Canada Employment & Immigration, 1983a, Table B-4; reprinted by permission.

Table 4

Median Monthly Income by Sex and Last Country of Residence of Immigrants Entering Canada During 1976

Country of Last Residence	Median Monthly Income (Dollars)			
	Males		Females	
	Six Months	One Year	Six Months	One Year
Total Sample	880	920	525	560
United Kingdom	1,200	1,274	650	676
Northern and Estern Europe	1,101	1,099	580	520
France	951	1,107	650	675
Western Europe	999	1,040	638	568
Southern Europe	799	800	450	480
Africa	800	851	450	525
Hong Kong and Taiwan	654	700	524	560
Southern Asia	751	800	500	520
Southeast Asia and Philippines	748	779	581	592
West Indies	620	696	420	480
Central and Latin America	802	920	464	480
United States	1,400	1,480	799	801
Middle East and Oceania	900	1,001	540	570

Source: Ornstein and Sharma (1981): reprinted by permission.

Minority immigrants, then, make up a significant proportion of the Canadian population, particularly in the province of Ontario, where Toronto is the main reception area. They are relatively recent newcomers, including a sizeable core of well-educated and skilled persons, and are strongly oriented towards participation in the work force. However, the available evidence indicates serious problems related to their integration within the work force. Although some groups fare better than others, on the whole, access to employment and to opportunities for upward mobility appears to be seriously limited. As the Advisory Committee on Cultural Heritage in British Columbia has observed:

> Too many immigrants with education, training and experience in professions and trades do not achieve their potential because they cannot find the appropriate

> rung of the ladder which will enable them to climb to the position they ought to achieve. Some, having found this foothold, may lose courage, thinking they are trapped, forgotten and alone on the bottom rung for life . . . This is tragic from the point of view of human compassion and is an unfortunate waste for the . . . economy.
>
> (Report, March 1982: quoted in Tri-Department Working Committee Report, 1983, p. 14)

To determine where counselling can be most effective in ameliorating this situation, it is important to consider what are the goals of these clients and what are the key factors which militate against their achievement. One of the difficulties in pursuing these issues is the paucity of available empirical data on the career goals and aspirations of minority immigrants. In the absence of this resource, a conceptual model of employment goal orientations will be presented, based upon personal experiences and anecdotal material from a variety of sources.

Employment Goals

In referring to "employment" rather than "career" goals, an important distinction is being made between basic objectives in seeking work, and objectives linked to specific occupations. The key issue for the counsellor who works with immigrants is how work fits into the broader context of the person's life situation, that situation being the overriding and immediate demands of settlement in a new country. While it is necessary to get to specifics regarding career interests, aptitudes and so on, these data are of little significance without an appreciation of the settlement process, where the client is located within that process and how employment fits into his or her life at that point.

As counsellors are aware, the significance of employment extends beyond its monetary value: for immigrants, it is an important developmental event in the settlement process (Mastai, 1980). Insofar as immigrants were working adults in their countries of origin, employment in Canada can provide a sense of continuity – a link with the past – and can therefore reduce feelings of uprootedness. Similarly, employment enhances the individual's sense of belonging by providing not only an economic base for successful settlement, but also a tangible measure of acceptance by the host society.

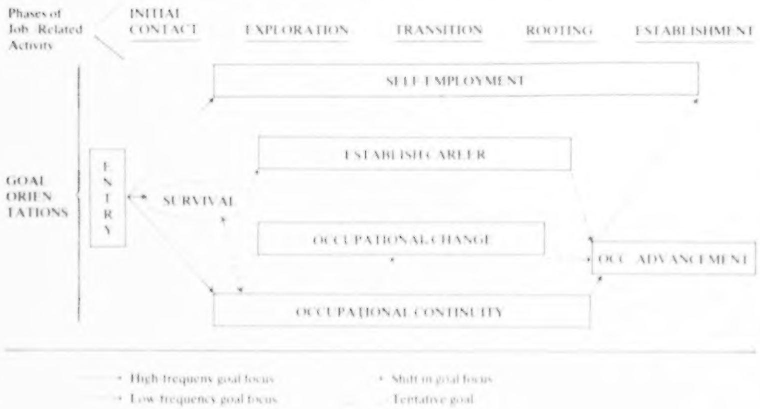
In essence, six basic goal orientations can be identified within the conceptual model. Immigrants with experience in a particular occupation may be expected to seek *occupational continuity*. That is, their first choice would be to obtain work in the same occupation in which they had been engaged in their country of origin, preferably at a level comparable to that which they had held previously. Failure to obtain employment in their intended occupation may lead to a shift in focus – survival. The primary concern here is to earn at least enough income to meet living expenses; the particular job becomes a matter of secondary importance. Unskilled or semi-skilled workers generally have few choices and are much less focussed in their occupational interests. From the start they are therefore likely to attach more importance to income *per se* than to the nature of the job. For skilled workers, on the other hand, "survival" is not a goal in itself: such work merely satisfies immediate needs. Entry into the intended occupation is likely to remain a primary goal and considerable energy may be directed towards achieving that outcome. (What sometimes happens is that the effort to meet survival needs absorbs so much time and energy, that there is little left to implement long-term goals.)

Occupational change becomes a primary objective when prospects of pursuing the intended occupation are perceived to be very poor, or when more satisfying rewards (such as higher income or job status) have been identified within an alternative and accessible occupational area. For other immigrants, the goal may be to *establish a career*. This is likely to be the major goal of people entering the work force for the first time – such as youth, female spouses and single mothers – and for unskilled workers, to whom a career offers the prospect of greater job security, status and income. The other two goal orientations suggested are *occupational advancement* and *self-employment*. The first, of course, looks beyond initial entry into the work force to developments afterwards; that is, mobility within the work force. Since openings in a given occupational field are rarely available to newcomers other than at entry level positions, this goal has significant implications for the long term: occupational segregation is more likely to result where newcomers have few opportunities for career growth and upward mobility. The second touches upon an area of particular interest to immigrants from communities with a strong tradition of small family business enterprise. Self-employment is an especially attractive option in a climate of shrinking job opportunities. The above-described goals are outlined in Figure 1.

In the model, five stages of occupational development are hypothesized. *Initial contact* reflects the immigrant's first efforts at gathering information about the job market and suitable contact points

Figure 1

Employment Goal Orientations


Phases of Job Related Activity
INITIAL CONTACT
EXPLORATION
TRANSITION
ROOTING
ESTABLISHMENT
SELF EMPLOYMENT
GOAL ORIENTATIONS
ENTRY
SURVIVAL
ESTABLISH CAREER
OCCUPATIONAL CHANGE
OCC. ADVANCEMENT
OCCUPATIONAL CONTINUITY
High frequency goal focus
Low frequency goal focus
Shift in goal focus
Tentative goal

for gaining entry. The *exploration* stage is marked by more extensive efforts to secure employment (though applications, interviews, following up leads, etc.). In the *transition* stage, the primary concern is to prepare the ground to improve individual marketability. This may involve occupational re-training or language training to facilitate re-entry into a previously practiced occupation, or to meet requirements in a new area of interest. *Rooting* suggests a settling-down process that occurs after entry has been gained in the desired field, that is, there is a firm commitment to work in the particular occupational area. The *establishment* stage indicates the achievement of professional status and recognition within the chosen occupation. Initial job search experiences (in the "exploration" stage) are likely to be significant in determining the particular thrust of subsequent goal orientations.

Employment Counselling Needs

In Table 5, employment goals outlined in the preceding section are presented in relation to skills and resources needed to achieve them. The need for certain skills and resources stands out: access to information resources, job search and marketing skills, job-related credentials, official language proficiency (especially in English) and occupational training to meet Canadian job criteria.

Table 5
Employment Goals and Related Skill and Resource Needs

	Employment Goals								
	Surv.	Occ.C.	E.Car.	Chng.	C.Adv.	S.Emp.			Related Needs (Skills/Resources)
1.	*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	—	1.	Minimal job skills and experience.
2.	+	*	*	*	*	*	—	2.	Basic understanding of Canadian working environment.
3.	*	*	*	*	*	*	—	3.	Knowledge of sources of information and assistance and how to access them.
4.	*	*	*	*	+	n/a	—	4.	Ability to conduct effective job search.
5.	+	*	*	*	+	n/a	—	5.	Ability to market or promote self to employer.
6.	*	*	*	*	+	n/a	—	6.	Access to employment networks.
7.	+	*	*	*	*	n/a	—	7.	Acceptable academic and training credentials.
8.	+	*	+	+	*	n/a	—	8.	Related work experience.
9.	n/a	*	*	*	*	+	—	9.	Affiliation to professional workers assns. in chosen occupational area.
10.	n/a	n/a	*	*	*	n/a	—	10.	Awareness of available career options.
11.	n/a	n/a	*	*	*	n/a	—	11.	Ability to select option most suitable to personal life stage.
12.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	*	n/a	—	12.	On-the-job skills development opportunities.
13.	n/a	*	*	*	+	+	—	13.	Occupational training/re-training.
14.	+	*	*	*	*	+	—	14.	Proficiency in English.
15.	n/a	n/a	+	+	+	*	—	15.	Awareness of self-employment opportunities.
16.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	*	—	16.	Knowledge of small business/entrepreneural resources.
17.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	*	—	17.	Small business management skills.

* high level need/requirement
+ lower level need/requirement
n/a of little significance

Notes

Surv. – survival
Occ.C. – occupational continuity
E.Car. – establish first career
Chng. – occupational change
C.Adv. – career advancement
S.Emp. – self-employment

How well equipped are minority immigrants in relation to these needs? Not very well in some instances, as the following review suggests. First, let us consider the question of information resources. In many ways, information is only as good as its source. Generally, newcomers are at a distinct disadvantage in that they lack the range of social networks necessary to connect them to a wide selection of employment opportunities. Although networks of relatives and friends can be a valuable resource in seeking employment (Turritin, 1976) such networks can provide only limited information and guidance as to the range of opportunities available. To the extent that these contacts are ill-informed, poorly connected to other social networks or marginally involved in the labour market, they are likely to be of little help. Similarly, while ethnic group connections can help to provide access to employment (Reitz et al., 1981; Calzavara, 1983), dependence on these networks may close off viable options and may even prove to be economically disadvantageous in some cases (Calzavara, 1983).

As for other connection points, certain limitations are worth bearing in mind. First, knowledge is partly a function of the extent to which information resources are available within an immigrant's community, and partly the individual's own perception of these services and willingness to use them. Ready access to employment centres, information centres, immigrant aid agencies and the like is not equally available in all communities. Furthermore, even where such services are within easy reach, newcomers may need to be educated in how to use them effectively. Language presents an additional obstacle to information dissemination when the official language is not understood. Finally, while the term "labour market" may imply an open, competitive situation, the fact is that a large number of jobs are obtained through personal networks rather than open competition, thus bypassing many interested and qualified applicants.

The job search process also presents a challenge. Basically, its cultural assumptions run counter to the prevailing interpersonal style of several minority cultures. It is commonplace to speak of "marketing yourself." This sales approach is, of course, reflected in recommended styles for letters of application, résumés, interviews and so on. However, aggressive self-promotion is frowned upon in cultures which emphasize modesty and deference to others. For minority immigrants whose cultures reflect these values, the job search process is likely to involve more than the mere acquisition of a set of techniques – it may entail significant cultural adaptation.

The interviewing process itself is full of potential pitfalls, stemming from the fact that interviewer and interviewee generally come to it from different cultural perspectives. In such situations there is considerable room for miscommunication unless each participant is tuned in to the other's frame of reference (Vontress, 1981). Because of the pervasiveness of negative stereotypes and attitudes towards visible minorities (Henry, 1978), racial differences can exacerbate the communication problem and therefore work to the disadvantage of the minority applicant.

Language has been cited in a number of studies as one of the major barriers to employment (Canada Employment and Immigration, 1983a, 1983b). This is no doubt important and points to the need to make language training more accessible to those unable to attend school full-time. On the other hand, difficulties encountered by the English-speaking West Indians suggest that other equally significant factors are at work. Some are structural in nature, in that they are "built-in," operational features of the Canadian labour market. One of the most serious problems is that employers often demand evidence of "Canadian experience" as a pre-condition for employment. "Lack of Canadian experience" is one of the most frequently reported reasons for working outside the intended occupation (Richmond, 1982; Samuel, 1983). Experience obtained outside Canada is evidently assumed to be of little relevance, particularly if it was obtained in a Third World country. Thus, the classic dilemma: to get a job immigrants are expected to have Canadian experience – to get that experience they need a job. The effect of restrictions of this kind is to exclude many qualified people from consideration. Another concern is the evaluation of non-Canadian academic and training credentials. Is adequate weight given to non-Canadian degrees, diplomas and certificates by Canadian evaluators? Are employers prepared to give full credit for non-Canadian training and work experience? The evidence suggests that this is not the case (Lowe, 1982). Minority immigrants also have to contend with blatantly discriminatory practices in hiring which further reduce opportunities for employment and mobility within the work force (Ontario Human Rights Commission Report, 1977, 1981; Henry, 1979).

Implications for Counselling

To summarize, when salient features of the Canadian labour market are taken into consideration, it becomes clear that minority immigrants face a number of difficulties in seeking employment. Some of these lend themselves to constructive counselling interventions. First, there is the knowledge or information factor – understanding the Canadian work culture, being aware of pertinent expectations and the tools and strategies needed in order to secure employment. These are all items to be learned, as the immigrant's previous experience is different from the Canadian norm and thus cannot provide adequate preparation for it. If looking for a job is a job itself, then it is one for which the newcomer needs to be equipped. In the absence of orientation and guidance which addresses the specific orientation needs outlined, there can be no effective access to the marketplace. Second, as recent newcomers, minority immigrants have only limited access to job networks and referral systems in mainstream institutions and have comparatively few resources within their own ethnic communities to provide an adequate range of employment opportunities. Special job referral and placement services are therefore critical needs. Third, the transition into the Canadian labour market is as much a process of cultural adaptation, as it is one of learning specific items of information and skills. Counselling can play a supportive role in this adaptation process. Fourth, systemic problems previously cited call for new initiatives to make "gatekeepers" within the employment field more sensitive to the special needs of immigrant newcomers, and to remove practices and procedures which have a discriminatory effect upon minority immigrants in particular.

In essence, counselling interventions fall within two categories: those which the counsellor can initiate within the context of his or her own interaction with the client, and those which require concerted action at the institutional level to remove systemic barriers to employment. With regard to the former, the counsellor needs to get a good understanding of the client's employment goals, bearing in mind changing developments in the settlement process. It may be necessary to assist the client in clarifying his or her goals, in which case the above-presented conceptual framework may be of some value. But whatever the specific content around which the interaction takes place, counsellors must always be sensitive to factors which tend to create barriers in intercultural communication, drawing upon resources which will assist in building a climate of mutual trust and understanding (Pedersen, 1978; Vontress, 1981).

With regard to initiatives at the institutional level, there appears to be considerable room for action. The foregoing comments on the role of the individual counsellor, for example, suggest a process that requires more in-depth work than is currently provided through most employment centres. Although special employment counselling services have been developed, these affect only certain "disadvantaged" segments of the work force – mainly women, the disabled and, more recently, youth. Immigrants have not yet been recognized as a special needs group by any level of government, for the purposes of employment. So, as yet there is no system in place to deliver employment counselling services geared to the specific needs of minority immigrants.

A related concern is that intercultural training is not required of those who interact with immigrant clients in employment counselling or personnel recruitment services. What we already know about cross-cultural encounters would suggest that for a satisfactory level of service to be achieved, counsellors and recruiting staff need to develop appropriate levels of awareness, sensitivity and skill in interacting with members of minority groups (Wolfgang, 1975, 1979; Pedersen, Draguns, Lonner & Trimble, 1981; Vontress, 1981). For this reason, it is a matter of special concern that the vast majority of personnel officers and staff recruiters in public as well as private organizations have had little or no exposure to cross-cultural training. As Reitz et al. (1981, p. 1) note:

> The kinds of occupation rewards that members of a particular ethnic group are able to garner for themselves depends not only on the individual attributes . . . but also on the way in which these attributes are evaluated by persons, who, by virtue of their position as labour market "gatekeepers," control the allocation of rewards . . .

Given the key role which counsellors and recruiting staff play in opening or restricting access to employment, the need for intercultural training seems very clear.

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272

Counselling Immigrants for Employment

William A. Borgen
and
Norman E. Amundson

The experience of job loss and job search is a stressful and frustrating one due in large part to the current economic situation (Amundson & Borgen, 1982). The problems facing the unemployed are severe and contribute to psychological, social and even physical difficulties (Marsden, 1982). In this scenario, those people who are new to the country have been particularly hard hit. They find themselves in a situation where on the one hand they are accused of taking jobs from people in the host culture and, on the other, attacked for not being self-sufficient. As they attempt to find work, they are further frustrated by a lack of effective job search skills in the North American context and misunderstandings about the role of government institutions in helping them find work. The experiences of this particular unemployed group form the focus for this chapter. Our information in this area comes primarily from a major study just completed on the dynamics of unemployment. In this study, we conducted phenomenological interviews with a wide range of people (Fischer, 1979; Giorgi, 1975) concerning their experiences with job loss and job search. A group of 24 people new to the country were among those interviewed.

William A. Borgen, Ph.D., is Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Counselling Psychology at the Faculty of Education of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

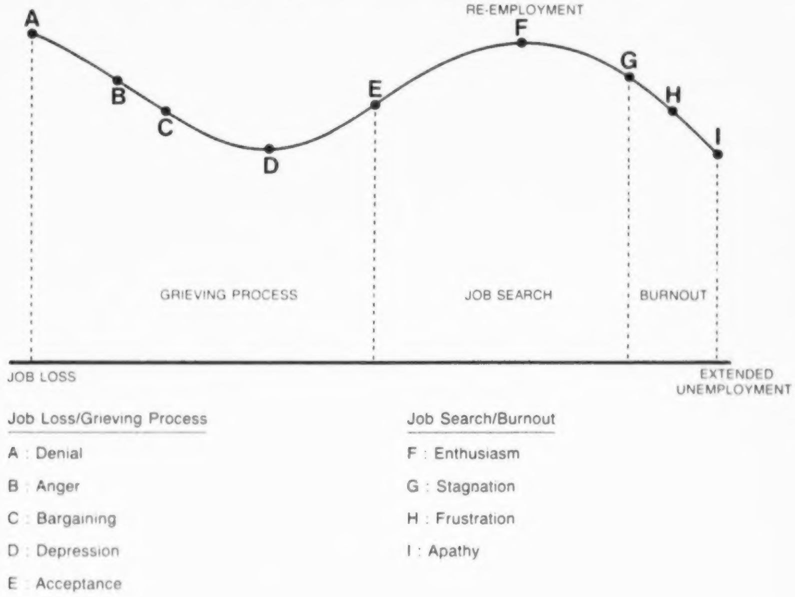
Norman E. Amundson, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Counselling Psychology at the Faculty of Education of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

The Experience of Unemployment

In the research study, we conducted in-depth interviews with people from various occupational groups about how they came to lose their jobs, the kinds of experiences they have had in coping with job loss and the ways in which they have approached looking for work. The study is based on a model describing the dynamics of unemployment postulated as a result of previous work with unemployed people (Amundson & Borgen, 1982). The original model is described in Figure 1.

Figure 1

The Dynamics of Unemployment


RE-EMPLOYMENT
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
GRIEVING PROCESS
JOB SEARCH
BURNOUT
JOB LOSS
EXTENDED UNEMPLOYMENT
Job Loss/Grieving Process
A : Denial
B : Anger
C : Bargaining
D : Depression
E : Acceptance
Job Search/Burnout
F : Enthusiasm
G : Stagnation
H : Frustration
I : Apathy

As seen in Figure 1, the model that we proposed to explain the dynamics of unemployment connects job loss and job search factors into a process similar to an emotional rollercoaster. While the desired end point of this process is re-employment, it is important to examine the forces within the process that may impede or facilitate reaching that goal. The initial sets of forces restraining effective job search activities are found in the first valley represented in Figure 1. They involve a grieving process (Kubler-Ross, 1969) and have associated with them feelings of denial, anger, bargaining and depression. These feelings may present themselves to the counsellor as unfinished business related to job loss. Following at least a partial resolution of the grieving process we postulated facilitating forces initially characterized by acceptance of job loss and enthusiasm for job search activities. Ideally, this enthusiasm and the energy it makes available lead to effective job search and employment. Clients who come for help with these forces are often optimistic, energetic and cooperative. However, given the current economic circumstances, and the difficulty people encounter in finding employment, the enthusiasm often degenerates quickly into feelings of stagnation, frustration and apathy. These factors are similar to what has been characterized as "burn-out" (Edelwich & Brodsky, 1980). Burn-out factors come into play following repeated ineffective job search attempts and can present themselves to employment counsellors as intense active or passive resistance to further job search activities.

The research which followed the development of the grieving/burn-out model to explain the dynamics of unemployment has resulted in some modifications to the original model. The people interviewed indicated that emotions are much too erratic and out of their control to be described simply as an emotional rollercoaster. More often, the emotions are characterized as a yo-yo. What seems to be of particular concern to many people who are unemployed is the fact that the range of emotional reactions that they experience as well as their intensity seem to be largely out of their control. The initial part of the diagram characterized by the grieving process seems to be a fairly accurate reflection of people's experience. Not all the specific emotions are experienced with the same level of intensity by everyone, and they are not always in the original suggested sequence. Factors that seem to influence the intensity or type of emotions include (a) the amount of attachment to the job, (b) the sense of self-esteem associated with the work, (c) financial commitments, (d) the extent to which the persons support group came from fellow workers and (e) the outlook that a person holds for the future. The burn-out phase of the model seemed to be experienced universally by the people looking for work. However, the rapidity with which the burn-out phase occurred seemed to vary according to a number of personal and social dimensions. The original model concluded with an apathy phase. It would appear from our current data that after feelings of apathy people often experience another shift in feelings. This process is characterized by self-evaluation and a recognition of self-worth independent of job status.

The Dynamics of Unemployment for People New to the Country

Information gained from our study indicates that while there are many similarities in the experience of unemployment of those familiar with the North American culture compared with those new to it, there are still many appreciable differences. It is important to take into account these differences when working with immigrants who are seeking employment.

In terms of the first part of the model, many people who are new to North America do not experience job loss in the same way as people who are more indigenous to this continent. Rather, they are experiencing a loss of a culture. It is important to consider this when assisting unemployed immigrants in order to understand some of the motivating factors behind their reactions to being out of work. A helpful way to construe reactions of unemployed immigrants is to look at the model we proposed and integrate it with the cultural transition experience sequence suggested by Adler (1975) and the process of cultural identity formation suggested by Sue (1981). More specifically, it is important to keep in mind that people coming to the new culture of North America are thrust into two emotionally laden sets of experiences. The first involves the experience of the loss of a culture, the loss of cultural expertise in terms of knowing the official and unofficial rules to follow to gain employment, as well as the loss of a significant component of the support groups present in their former cultural setting. Simultaneously, these immigrant groups are faced with having to conduct immediate job search activities within an economic climate that makes it very difficult for anyone to find a job. The extended job search process which is now necessary in North America thrusts the newcomers into immediate contact with the host culture and places them in situations to experience a succession of rejections. Some of the experiences and reactions described through the course of adjustment to the new culture as well as looking for work within it are perhaps best characterized by some of the statements made by people interviewed in our research study.

> First I was hopeful. Canada seemed to be a land of opportunity and getting a job just seemed to be a matter of trying hard. (Vietnamese immigrant)
>
> Yes, it's better than Poland. I am a refugee. We went to the Canadian Embassy in Vienna and they asked us why we chose Canada. I said, "Because it's a rich land, lots of residences." I didn't know how hard it was here to find a job. (Polish immigrant)

> When I came back from Malaysia I thought I could get my old job back. I was very optimistic. (Malaysian immigrant)

It is evident from these examples, and from many of the other people that we interviewed, that initial expectations upon arriving in North America were very high. However as these people came to realize the country's current situation, other reactions which were far less positive, were indicated.

> I was very disappointed. I thought it was the end of the world. I had been told I would have a job. I was very frustrated. Work gives a sense of dignity and I became determined to find a job. (Mexican immigrant)
>
> I felt frustrated and discriminated against. (Malaysian immigrant)
>
> I was desperate. Nothing that I did seemed to be effective. (Filipino immigrant)

The main factor that emerges in understanding the emotional reaction of immigrants looking for work is that it brings them face to face with harsh economic realities. This causes a fairly large reorganization or shift in attitudes towards the country they are entering. If we examine more closely the job search process undertaken by immigrants, it begins with persistence in looking for work and some willingness to take any job, at least for the time being. Some of the reasons for this persistence in job search include financial necessity and cultural pressure. This includes pressure from their own cultural groups who may judge them negatively if they are out of work. Also, there is an intrinsic pressure to regain the status and dignity that work had given them in their previous culture. A third factor is administration pressures. This has been expressed in terms of the fear about their ability to sponsor other people coming to the country, or the ability of the person that sponsored them to sponsor other people if they themselves do not find work and have to resort to welfare.

Most of the people that were interviewed gave reason for their inability to find work which extended beyond the low level of the economy. Common among these for the immigrant group were lack of adequate understanding of the English language, lack of recognition of existing training and expertise and misunderstanding of effective ways of finding employment within the new cultural setting. Also given as a reason by some people was a feeling of discrimination against them. This resulted in statements such as:

> I looked everywhere, but I just opened my mouth and people move away. Maybe my English is so bad they don't like me. They refuse to talk to me when I go and look for work. (Chinese immigrant)

> Today I came again to look for a job. I know before I came that the board will be empty. (Immigrant from India)
>
> It's not easy to find a job because of what they think of yellow people. They don't want me because I have no B.C. ticket (heavy duty mechanic). I have experience in Vietnam but they don't understand. (Vietnamese immigrant)

The reasons just listed certainly seem to have some foundation in reality. However, they also may represent spurious barriers in the sense that overcoming them is no guarantee of employment. For example, a person may believe that lack of facility in English is the major or only barrier to acquiring a good job. It has been the experience of some people who have overcome these obstacles that they are in fact no closer to being employed. Among the people who were interviewed, this has resulted in some feelings of frustration and anger, but more often feelings of sadness, helplessness and bewilderment.

Statements made by unemployed immigrants that are most significant in helping them find employment centre on the frustration resulting from their lack of knowledge of effective ways to find employment and the lack of resources to help them become more effective. The current state of affairs results in a dogged persistence in repeating ineffective job search strategies which result in feelings of desperation and bewilderment. Under these conditions common job search strategies include showing up in employment offices every day to look at the same nearly empty boards or seeking advice from others in their cultural group who are similary uninformed about effective ways to find employment. The end result of this situation is a steady emotional slide characterized by diminished energy, and a series of somatic side effects such as anxiety, sleep loss and weight loss.

Counselling Intervention

Effective interventions with unemployed immigrants are tied to two major factors. The first involves the importance of accessing their cultural group for a sense of community and meaning (psychological social support). The second involves the necessity of understanding effective job search strategies within the new culture. In making these two major factors complimentary rather than contradictory, it is important to keep in mind a range of interventions that need to be employed. One system for categorizing interventions has been suggested by Loganbill, Hardy and Delworth (1982):

a. Facilitative interventions are those which form the basis of a counselling relationship. They are directly related to Rogers' concept of unconditional positive regard and involve warmth, respect and empathy (Rogers, 1951).

b. Confrontive interventions usually involve a comparison of the persons actual functioning with verbal statements that are made (Egan, 1982).

c. Conceptual interventions are designed to offer a cognitive understanding pertinent to a situation. Using this approach a counsellor provides relevant information and encourages the client to use other perspectives when viewing his or her particular circumstances (Egan, 1982; Meichenbaum & Turk, 1976).

d. Prescriptive interventions provide a client with a specific plan of action for use in a particular situation. This type of intervention seems best suited to those situations where immediate action is required or where a client needs clear direction to alleviate debilitating anxiety.

e. Catalytic interventions promote change or get things moving with a minimum of direct counsellor involvement. With catalytic interventions, the counsellor assumes a low profile but through skillful questioning, probing or exploring is able to focus attention on key issues. This approach is most often particularly effective when coupled with facilitative conditions.

The combination of interventions used in any particular setting is determined by the particular characteristics of the cultural group being counselled. Effective application of any of these interventions assumes a high level of cultural awareness on the part of the counsellor with respect to that particular cultural group (Sue, 1981).

Other ways to categorize interventions are as follows: remedial (working with clients on a one-to-one or group basis in addressing immediate problems); preventive (working with clients' environments to help alleviate problem formation) and developmental (working with clients in the development of life skills and attitudes that will make them more able to successfully cope with future problems) (Nevison, 1969; Jordaan, Myers, Layton & Morgan, 1968). The current study suggests the importance of interventions with unemployed immigrants on all three of these levels: (a) in helping unemployed clients cope with unemployment; (b) in helping counsellors and potential employers to become more culturally aware; and (c) in working with unemployed clients in developing more awareness of how to effectively find jobs and how to conduct themselves when interfacing with employers. The methods of intervention specifically suggested as a result of the study that we conducted with unemployed immigrants can be divided into three major phases.

The first phase involves the utilization of conceptual and facilitating interventions. It is important for the counsellor to begin by insuring that there is a common basis of understanding about the process of counselling. This involves (a) going to where immigrants are, i.e., in the reception centres of employment offices, and informally acquainting them with what a counselling service may offer; (b) holding orientation sessions to more formally define an offer of service; and (c) taking time at the beginning of any counselling session to determine the level of accurate understanding and to further define the service to be offered. In addition to providing this orientation and conceptual framework, the counsellor should determine the client's level of cultural identity formation and his or her understanding of the new host culture. This can have the effect of promoting trust and may imply the use of counsellors indigenous to the culture from which the client came. It is very important that counsellors be selected who can readily be seen as trustworthy. It also assumes that counsellors outside a client's cultural group should not be perceived as being in conflict with the client's frame of reference. This first phase of the counselling intervention directly addresses the first major factor of accessing and understanding the cultural group from which the immigrant comes. With this orientation, the counsellor moves toward a "temporary means-oriented coalition with the client and against the problem" (Pederson, 1977, p. 94).

The second phase involves a reorientation through the use of confrontation, conceptual and prescriptive interventions. This phase involves challenging the unemployed immigrant to reframe his/her perspective of his/her unemployed situation. This reframing provides an integration of the two major factors previously mentioned, i.e., understanding the cultural perspective previously held, and bridging into the cultural perspective of the new host culture. The reorientation phase for the unemployed immigrant needs to include what official government agencies can, and more importantly cannot, do for people looking for work. People should be encouraged to be more creative in their job search strategies and to combine their persistence with more effective techniques.

This reorientation phase needs to be integrated into the third stage of the counselling intervention, that is, application of their newly acquired job search skills using direct teaching and catalytic intervention methods by the counsellor. It is important to have extended practice of these job search strategies prior to attempting them in real life situations. In addition to practicing skills prior to their application, it is equally important to provide support and follow-up for counsellees after they have attempted new approaches. This is particularly crucial for people who do not necessarily understand the kind of reactions them may get from employers. The follow-up and support activities should include considerable time interpreting the reactions from potential employers. It would also include helping them refine their job search skills in order to give them some support to go out and apply them again.

The delivery system for the interventions can be on an individual or group basis. We have been impressed by the positive impact of job search support groups. The group approach seems particularly well suited to helping people (a) understand other people's point of view, (b) learn to share concerns and ideas with others who face similar problems, (c) obtain several reactions to problems expressed, (d) receive support and encouragement from others and (e) obtain relevant information (Amundson & Borgen, 1980; Borgen & Amundson, 1981). In addition to the features that have been mentioned, the group approach also serves as an efficient vehicle for the counsellor to deliver this service.

In applying a group-oriented intervention, several issues must be addressed. The first concerns the leader's appropriateness as a facilitator with cross-cultural groups. In this respect we are inclined to agree with Vontress (1979), who states that in attempting to work with others counsellors must first understand themselves. Using this as a foundation, a counsellor can begin to develop a broader cultural awareness and the skills necessary to run this type of group. Group facilitation skills must then be ingegrated with the particular cultural values of the participants. There are often marked cultural differences in terms of verbal participation, emotional expression, acceptance of authority and conflict resolution (Kaneshige, 1973). These cultural differences are also significant when organizing the groups. Woods (1977) suggests, for example, that it may be necessary to seek out potential participants rather than waiting for volunteers. We have found the offering of a service on a personal level to be of particular importance with unemployed immigrants. There is also some discussion as to the use of homogeneous or heterogeneous groups. The advantage of culturally homogeneous groups is that they provide a more obvious sense of psychological support and trust (Brower, 1980). The advantage of culturally disimilar groups is that they provide an excellent opportunity to confront, challenge and inform a person about how he/she views his/her situation (Arrendondo-Dowd & Gonsalves, 1980; Christenson, 1977). Whatever group approach is chosen, it seems essential to keep the needs of the members as the primary focus.

Conclusions

Unemployment within the current economic recession is a painful process for the people who have been caught in it. For people new to the North American context, arriving during the current economic recession has been particularly difficult. There seem to be many similarities in the reaction to unemployment by this group when compared with the group of people surveyed who are more familiar with this culture. The factors that are different about the immigrant group include taking into account their level of disillusionment upon arrival, their lack of cultural understanding within the North American context and the very real dearth of effective job search strategies used by many new to the country. Any effective counselling service offered to immigrants needs to take these three factors into account. Effective counselling interventions also assume a level of cultural awareness on the part of the counsellor to make the teaching of specific job search strategies acceptable to clients, and to provide the counsellor with ways to enhance the cultural awareness of potential employers. It is our opinion that group counselling represents a very useful apporach in helping immigrant clients gain emotional support, awareness about the host culture and effective job search skills.

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Counselling Minorities Within the Correctional Service

John Lewis

Counselling in a correctional setting has traditionally been carried out by psychologists, social workers, teachers, lay counsellors, volunteers and correctional officers. In fact, almost anyone working within the confines of a prison, with direct exposure to inmates, might be involved in some type of advice-giving or informal counselling. Coupled with this informal approach – which can occur quite extensively – are formal structured counselling programs, usually delivered by psychologists or counsellors.

The definition and goals of counselling, for the purposes of this discussion, will be different than those of psychotherapry. Brammer and Shostrom (1977) see counselling as a process primarily dealing with educational, supportive, situational or problem-solving concerns with an emphasis on maladaptive, normal clients; psychotherapy, on the other hand, is viewed as a more focussed, intensely analytical process with emphasis on mild to severe, emotionally troubled clients. Brammer and Shostrom, however, see an overlap between the two processes, and it is in this overlap that correctional counselling falls. On the one hand, the clients in prisons, namely inmates, need many of the counselling functions listed. They range in some cases from mild to severe emotional disturbances. It is the intent of the author to discuss ways to overcome some of the problems that counsellors encounter in trying to successfully overlap these two processes.

During the 1960s and 1970s, there tended to appear in the literature a growing pessimism concerning correctional treatment programs and

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John Lewis, M. Ed., is a counsellor for the Correctional Service of Canada and candidate for the Ph. D. in the Department of Counseling and Guidance at the School of Education of Syracuse University, New York.

counselling; cries that rehabilitation does not work and that corrections are not "correcting" appeared in the literature of criminology. The prevailing attitude among many professionals, government officials and members of the general public was exemplified by Martinson (1974) when he stated that, "In correctional rehabilitation almost nothing works."

These sentiments are expressed in many other papers, particularly Robinson and Smith (1971), and Kassenbaum, Ward and Wilner (1971). The "almost-nothing-works" approach was most explicitly stated by Romig (1978) in the following indictment of delinquency treatment:

> Behaviour modification should not be used as a treatment modality . . . casework should be discontinued . . . group counselling should not be relied on . . . individual psychotherapy and counselling should be discontinued . . .

Ross (1981) looked at this nothing-works-approach and discovered that there were indeed many programs in North America that did have successful outcomes when used with a correctional population. It is not the author's intention to describe these programs or the criteria for success of these approaches, as this task would be a large project beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to save that nine parameters for effective correctional treatment were discovered. These are:

1) Programs must be multifaceted and complex. They must not rely on a single approach or methodology.

2) Programs must make sense in that they incorporate adequate explanations of criminal causality and also take into account socioeconomic factors, cognitive differences and cultural variations related to criminal behaviour.

3) Programs must try to change aspects of the offenders' environment or behaviour that may contribute to his successful re-integration into society and to the avoidance of recidivism.

4) Programs should not be based on the medical model, but should use behavioural, cognitive and cultural approaches in which to build a model of treatment.

5) Programs should be intensive.

6) Programs must be well managed.

7) Programs must pay close attention to environmental factors during the pre- and post-treatment phase.

8) Programs must deal with the neutralization of the client's peer group or at least to use the peer group influence as a therapeutic mechanism.

9) Programs must be viewed by offenders as firm, just, and not demeaning. (Ross, 1981)

While most of these conditions seem appropriate for any counselling or educational system, the most important condition for correctional counsellors to query is the assumption that programs must be involved in the process of eliminating recidivism and re-integrating the offender into society – in effect some form of rehabilitation. It is the role of intensive psychotherapy to change the criminal's personality or behaviour so that some type of re-formation will take place. In turn, it is hoped that person will re-integrate into society and not return to prison. It is not the role of correctional counsellors, however, to be concerned solely with the avoidance of recidivism as a treatment goal. Hatcher (1978) has pointed out that terms such as "protection of the community," "reintegration" and "rehabilitation" are ambiguous and inadequate. Instead, he suggests that more general counselling goals be established: behaviour change, positive mental health, problem-solving, personal effectiveness and responsible decision-making.

Minorities have been a reality in the federal penitentiaries for many years. Racial minorities with a high percentage of poor, uneducated members have had a significantly high incarceration rate. Hylton (1982) pointed out that in Saskatchewan, Canada, adult male treaty Indians were thirty-seven times more likely to serve time in a provincial correctional facility than non-Natives; female adult Natives were eight times more likely to be institutionalized in comparison to non-Native females. The figure for Métis people, though not nearly as dramatic as the previous figures, show that the likelihood of incarceration is eight times that of the non-Native population.

In recent years there has been an unusually high percentage of Native peoples in Canadian federal penitentiaries. There has also been a noticeable increase in various ethnic minorities. Recent statistics show that 13 percent of incarcerated fellons are non-Caucasian, and some 8 percent of inmates are Native Indian or Métis. It has become apparent to the author that an observable rise in Caribbean peoples from Jamaica, Trinidad, St. Lucia, Guyana and other locations has taken place in federal institutions.

This added mix of foreign inmates makes the already diversified prison population astonishingly complex. In any given prison a counsellor can expect to encounter Canadian and American Blacks, Native Indians, French-Canadians, Europeans, South-East Asians, Caribbean people and the majority white English-speaking Canadians. It is important to note that within the latter group the ethnic diversity is quite marked. It is not unusual to come into contact with Maritime prisoners whose culture is different from West Coast inmates or urban Ontarians. Within this group, ancestry and family life may have been centered on any one of the many ethnic cultures in Canada including British, German, Scandinavian, Mediterranean or Middle Eastern. In this sense, the 87 percent Caucasian figure is misleading.

Crime Diversity

The diversity of crimes committed is an issue that raises questions and concerns for the counsellor. The traditional division for crimes has been the violent versus non-violent offenses. Non-violent offenses include such crimes as fraud, embezzlement, robbery and drug smuggling; voilent offenses include rape, kidnapping, armed robbery and murder. It is the experience of this author that violent offenders present a different problem to the counsellor than do non-violent offenders. Very often the violent offender is serving a lengthy sentence. This fact alone will determine the types of goals that a counsellor will establish in the counselling session; that is to say, if a person is serving a twenty-five year sentence, vocational counselling will have to be dealt with in an appropriate fashion, especially if the sentence has recently been imposed. The approach would change of course, if a person was seeking vocational counselling in the last few years of his twenty-five year sentence. Short-term prisoners (with less than five years) will need a different counselling approach than long-term prisoners to deal effectively with educational-vocational problems. On the personal level, longterm prisoners may need extensive counselling on how to adapt to prison life, or conversely on how to become de-institutionalized after a lengthy sentence.

The type of offense committed will have an impact on the counselling process. Depending on the crime, the offense itself may inhibit any attempt at individual counselling. The focus on the crime has been the sole purpose of some counselling personnel, to understand the criminal act and to change that type of behaviour the noble goal of many counsellors. If the outcome goal is some form of rehabilitation, then this focus is appropriate. It is, however, an issue of lesser importance if the primary success criteria for counselling does not include rehabilitation. However, whatever the outcome goal, the counsellor is eventually forced to deal with the crime that has been committed; for after all, it is probably *the* central issue to the prisoner – it has changed his living arrangements and social experiences for a considerable length of time.

Age

The age of the client is an important issue in correctional counselling. Prisoner's ages can run the gamut from late teens to early sixties. The interaction of age and amount of time served can be an important concern in the counselling process. The author recently encountered a fifty-five year old Portuguese prisoner, newly incarcerated for murder. The reality of the situation was that he would probably spend the rest of his life behind prison bars and eventually die in captivity. This man came to the prison having been a valuable member of the work force for nearly forty years. The effect of his life experiences, age, conviction and language difficulties forced the counsellor to approach the counselling session differently than he would a nineteen-year old English-speaking prisoner.

Sexuality

It has been known for years that homosexuality is a common phenomenon in prison. Less common, or at least most often ignored, are the conditions of bisexuality and transexualism. In many cases inmates can become "institutional homosexuals" in that they become involved with other inmates in an intimate fashion, primarily because no other sexual outlet is available while incarcerated. It is possible that many of these prisoners will resume heterosexual practices upon release. Many of the "institutional gays" have used homosexual practice to enable them to survive and function more effectively within the prison community. This is especially true of younger offenders who enter into homosexual liaisons in order to receive favours – money, goods or protection.

Bisexual inmates have generally been involved in hetero- and homosexual relationships prior to incarceration. As such, their sexual preferences will probably continue to be the same when released. However this is not always the case. The author recently dealt with an inmate whose bisexual proclivity changed to homosexual preference after several years in jail. There was a great concern on the part of the inmate as to whether he would relate to women upon release.

The issue of transexualism, although not as common as homosexuality, does occur in the prison setting. Instances of sex change operations have occurred during institutionalization. With these clients it is essential to consult medical professionals to determine the extent of psychiatric or medical problems associated with the condition.

Sexuality becomes a variable that the correctional counsellor will encounter with great frequency. It may range from feelings of inadequacy or fear of rape, or may involve the loneliness of no physical contact with spouse or girlfriend – a situation that may have been a common occurrence before incarceration.

Physical Handicaps

As in any setting, a percentage of the population has physical handicaps or disabilities. In prisons, these conditions can range from impaired speech and hearing to locomotor disability or blindness. The author recently came into contact with a functionally blind inmate. The interaction of client and counsellor in this type of situation became more complicated than in one with a visually normal client, since in a very real sense this inmate was troubled with various realities of institutional life; eating, moving around the facility and dealings with professional staff became first order concerns for this client. In another instance, a Trinidadian client had his right leg severed above the knee in the New York subway; he was hospitalized and an artificial limb was installed. Shortly after, this person committed a crime in Canada, was convicted and institutionalized. The complexity of ethnic variables and physical handicap created complex counsellor-client interactions. The counsellor was involved not only in dealing with the inmate's cultural value shock, but the client was also having great difficulty in psychologically dealing with the newly installed prosthesis.

Personality

Much has been written about the criminal personality in an attempt to understand the origin and nature of the criminal act. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explain such origins. It is, however, important to note that some common personality characteristics have been found with institutionalized criminals. Wishnie (1977) conducted an extensive study of habitual criminals. He found the institutionalized criminal to be basically egocentric, impulsive and illogical. He further discovered that the impulsive person tended to see other people as unreal, and stereotypes with the tendency to view things and people in an all-or-none, black and white fashion.

Campbell and Davis (1981) discovered that inmates were impulsive and field dependent. Cognitive deficits have been found in inmates by Yeudall (1977). He found that violent offenders show marked cognitive impairment which affects their normal functioning and hampers treatment techniques. These cognitive factors have also been discovered by Yochelson and Samenow (1976) in their massive study of the criminal personality.

The diversity of crime is also believed to shed some light on inmate personality characteristics. Carroll and Fuller (1971) tested three groups of criminals on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (M.M.P.I.); the intent was to discover if there were any discernible personality differences between violent, non-violent and sexual offenders. They found that the violent offenders were significantly different from the sexual offenders on all scales of the test. They found that violent and non-violent offenders different significantly only on the F (validity-lie) scale.

These personality characteristics require some degree of understanding for counselling sessions to be successful. The knowledge of how the inmate perceives himself and the counsellor are issues that will probably surface during the course of a counselling encounter.

Educational Level

The educational background of the inmates provides the counsellors with an added factor to consider in the counselling process. Many inmates in institutions are functionally illiterate. This illiteracy can be caused by lack of formal schooling, learning disabilities or counter-productive environmental conditions prior to incarceration. In some cases, mild mental retardation is evident.

It is also quite possible that highly educated prisoners will require counselling. High school, college and university graduates can all be found within prison walls; sometimes higher education is obtained within prison. These instances, although not numerous, seem to be occurring with increased frequency. The counsellor needs to determine educational level, reasons for academic success or failure, and possible future-oriented programs of interest to the inmate. It is inevitable that the counsellor will have to deal with education or employment training when dealing with a prisoner.

Intelligence

Coupled with educational level is the concept of intelligence. Counsellors in prisons are confronted by all levels of intelligence ranging from borderline retarded to superior. In many cases re-assessment of these clients is in order. (This issue will be dealt with later.)

Language

One of the most difficult factors facing a novice counsellor in the correctional service is the language used by the majority of the inmate population. This language, or "patois," is especially evident when dealing with clients who have been institutionalized for more than one or two years. Vocabulary terms like "rat," "goof," "skin beef," "rounder," "shank," etc. all confront the counsellor during the initial contact with the client. This "street lingo" can cause numerous problems in communication. The only thing a counsellor can do when faced with this problem is to try and gain exposure to the terminology, either through his colleagues or through frequent direct encounters with the inmate population.

It is the author's opinion that a failure to understand this language will result in inadequate counselling only through this language can a counsellor begin to enter the prisoner's world and his past and present experiences.

Another language problem that can occur involves dialects of English and foreign languages. In Canada, many institutions have a significant number of French-Canadians who are primarily French-speaking. Counselling services in provinces like Ontario and British Columbia, although theoretically offering all services to French-speaking inmates, generally do not offer extensive counselling services in French which can cause this type of inmate to have great difficulty relating and communicating personal problems to a counsellor. This fact becomes even more drastic when the prisoner's first language is neither English nor French. The problems facing this type of inmate become enormous; he has difficulty relating to peers and staff, fails to understand the subtleties of institutional rules and can become confused about the legal process surrounding his incarceration. Another form of this confusion has occurred with the influx of Caribbean people; this phenomenon has precipitated language issues in counselling and what impact they have on client-counsellor understanding. The interaction of various prison language usages and what Sue and Sue (1977) listed as language variables for Third World groups can present the counsellor with a need for more sensitivity in communication with his clients.

Mental Disorders

Cases of schizophrenia, manic-depressive states and suicidal and self-mutilation syndromes occur in the prison setting. Although most of these cases are dealt with in a psychiatric facility, the counsellor needs to be on the lookout for early symptoms which may eventually lead to hospitalization. When this occurs, referral for psychiatric assessment is essential.

Social Class

Two aspects of social class are evident in prison. The first is the social situation from which the inmate comes prior to incarceration. The range of social class variables is wide with prisoners representing all levels of socio-economic background. The knowledge of this background could be useful during counselling.

Secondly, there exists within all prisons a social stratification. A careful delineation of this hierarchical system, is beyond the scope of this paper, but counsellors should be aware that it is present and also try to determine where the client fits into the overall schema, whether the client is an influential inmate with high status, or a low-status offender such as a pedophile. Knowledge of this will invariably aid counselling services to the client. It will facilitate understanding of peer pressure and the client's facility of language with other inmates, and help to give clear picture of the social functioning of the client. It is also especially important when dealing with an ethnic minority offender. In many cases, especially in the initial stages of incarceration, the prisoner will not fit into the social scheme easily. He may be ostracized or at least have the feeling of being alone for a great length of time.

The interaction of the subcultural variables with ethnicity or race within the prison setting has received little or no treatment in the literature. Owens (1981) pointed out that minority offenders are more likely to be labelled as mentally retarded. Owens, however, did not go beyond a discussion of the black offender, and there was no discussion of interacting double minority issues. Another study by Griffiths, Hall and Winifree (1977) looked at American Indians within the correctional system; the emphasis of the study, however, was to ascertain differences in parole survival between American Indians and whites.

Correctional counselling has traditionally been replete with possible problem areas for counsellors. These areas include the very important role that community expectations and political realities impose upon prisons. Many people pose the question: If you cannot rehabilitate a criminal, why waste time and money trying? This incredibly simplistic expectation places great stress on the correctional counsellor and sometimes inappropriately changes a counselling relationship. Hatcher (1978) explores these issues in greater detail.

Coupled with community expectancies are institutional requirements. In many cases correctional counsellors are hired as part of the correctional system. When this is the case, as it so often is, a dual role of counsellor and security officer is expected. This role is also perceived by the inmate and can produce an ineffective counselling climate. Part of this problem surfaces when confidentiality is discussed: on the one hand, the counsellor is bound by confidentiality to his client; on the other hand, institutional safety requirements are considered as part of his job function.

Another concern facing the correctional counsellor has to do with the area of assessment. In Canadian federal prisons, most inmates, if not all, are exposed to personality, achievement and aptitude tests. The tests that most likely are to be administered are the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), the California Personality Inventory (CPI), the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB), Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) and any number of achievement tests recording educational level, including the Test of Basic Adult Education (TBAE) and the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT). These are but a few of the measures with which prisoners have been tested. The validity of using these tests with racial and ethnic minorities is an issue that has received much attention in the literature. Samuda (1975), Sundberg and Gonzales (1981), Butcher and Garciá (1978), to name a few, have all called for care and understanding when administering and interpreting standardized tests to culturally different clients. In the correctional system, this type of care is essential. The lowered validity of assessment measures can lead to test scores which do not reflect an accurate picture of the prisoner's current functioning. This can lead to faulty educational placements and changes in parole status, and can significantly affect an inmate's movement within the system; that is, test scores can be a determining factor in placing a person in a lower security institution. It is, therefore, essential for a correctional counsellor to understand the issues involved in the testing of minority clients.

An issue of great concern to a counsellor is the question of what theories or what techniques to use. Ross (1981) and Ross and Gendreau (1980) have stressed the need for any program with prisoners to be multifaceted; most programs, when relying on a single method, proved unsuccessful. The complexity involved in counselling offenders requires a multidimensional approach. The literature has abounded with various counselling techniques used with prisoners, some successful, others not. Individual approaches have been used in a number of correctional settings: Behavioural and Client-centered Counselling, Reality Therapy, Rational-Emotive Therapy and Transactional Analysis. For detailed reviews of the effectiveness of these programs, see Ross (1981), Hatcher (1978), and Lipton, Martinson and Wilks (1975).

Group counselling has also been used in the prison system for over thirty years. For a brief history of this technique and its impact, see Whitely and Hosford (1983) and Hatcher (1978).

The important decision for the counsellor in light of successful and unsuccessful reports about single methodologies is to be multidimensional in approach. This requires that each inmate be viewed as an individual. It also requires that the counsellor understand the prisoner's personal cultural orientation at the present time. It is the responsibility of the counsellor to try and ascertain which technique will be most effective, given the nature of the client and the counsellor's ease or degree of comfortability with the counselling theory or method. This point is especially important when a correctional client is from an ethnic or racial minority. Many techniques have been described for working with Blacks, Asians, American Indians, et al. For a more complete discussion see Pederson, Draguns, Lonner and Trimble (1981), and Marsella and Pederson (1981).

What, then, are some practical suggestions for the counsellor when dealing with prisoners from different ethnic and racial backgrounds? The following strategies are recommended.

1. Determine the success criteria and goals of counselling. Decide whether rehabilitation is the important issue.
2. Decide how variables such as age, personality, etc. interact with the existing cultural variables of the client.

3. Be familiar with prison and prisoner language.
4. Be sensitive to the issues of cross-cultural assessment.
5. Realize that most techniques and counselling theories are still being empirically validated in prisons; therefore, adopt a counselling theory and style that suits counsellor and client.
6. Be aware that some cross-cultural clients respond better to different counselling approaches.
7. Be prepared to approach counselling in a multidimensional fashion, without reliance on a singe-method treatment.

Throughout this paper, the author has tried to point out that correctional counselling is a complex field. Inmate characteristics and concerns are potentially different with every client. Within the prison system there exists a social structure in which an inmate functions with various degrees of success and failure. The outcome goals for counselling can be different, depending on a number of variables such as age and length of sentence. These differences present the counsellor with a plethora of interacting problems within the prison setting. An overriding and escalating issue in the correctional community is one of ethnic and racial concerns. The counsellor in a prison is likely to encounter various minority offenders who also differ in their ages, length of sentence, etc. This factor has made it even more necessary for the counsellor to be aware of cross-cultural issues in counselling. It is no longer possible to lump prisoners under one heading. Rather, it is essential to understand that different cultural backgrounds will affect counselling success within the prison. It is hoped that studies on this growing issue will appear in the literature and fill the vacuum that now exists in the correctional counselling field. It is a further hope that counsellors in the correctional services will be aware of cross-cultural issues and seek out further training in the area, to provide the best possible service to their clients.

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Counselling Minorities with Learning or Cognitive Deficits

Arthur E. Brown

Counselling minorities with learning or cognitive deficits is an extremely complex matter which must be considered within the context of a host of inter-related issues. The paper will be concerned with counselling very broadly construed, encompassing assessment as well as provision of advice and consultation to minority students, their parents and teachers. It will also be confined to the type of service provided by the Student Services Department of the Toronto Board of Education, which is comprised of a Psychological Service, a Social Work Service and a Psychiatric Service. It will also examine some of the important aspects of minority populations which must be taken into account in attempting to provide relevant and effective services to them and consider aspects of the school system itself which are particularly relevant for minority students with learning or cognitive deficits. Finally, some approaches will be outlined which we believe, in the light of our experience, are sufficiently promising to warrant serious consideration by those who are seeking effective ways to help minority students profit from the educational system.

Although the student with learning or cognitive deficits will be the focus of concern in this paper, most of the factors considered and all of the approaches suggested are equally relevant for all minority students – and indeed for almost all students. They are particularly important for those with learning or cognitive deficits because such learning difficulties obviously exacerbate all those other problems which so many students, and particularly minority students, encounter as they attempt to cope with life at school.

A. Edwin Brown, Ed. D., is Assistant Superintendent for the Curriculum and Program Division of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

The Differing Natures of Minority Populations

At the present time, the immigrant population of the City of Toronto is large, perhaps approaching 50%, comprised of a plethora of ethnic and language groups. In a recent survey of Grade Nine students undertaken by the Toronto Board of Education (Wright, Tsuji & Dhanota, 1982), it was found that although 62.9% of the students had been born in Canada, 46.5% of the Grade Nine students had a first language other than English or French.

The 37.1% of the students born outside of Canada come from a very wide range of backgrounds. Those from certain countries are more likely to be members of families in high socio-economic level categories than those from other countries. Some immigrant children are from isolated rural communities, others are from urban industrialized areas. Some families are wealthy, some from the entrepreneurial or professional classes, and others from backgrounds of poverty and deprivation. Some immigrants are in Canada by free choice, others are refugees. It is obious, then, that the immigrant population is very diverse in Toronto at the present time. Its constituents have different needs, different aspirations and different problems; therefore, a variety of approaches and orientations on the part of service providers is required.

The Toronto Board of Education found in the same study that Grade Nine students who are born in Canada are the most likely to be found in academic programmes at the highest levels of difficulty. Of the Canadian born students, those whose first language was other than English or French are even more likely to be studying at the highest levels of academic difficulty. Those not born in Canada, whether or not their first language was French or English, are less heavily represented at the highest levels of academic difficulty. When the data is controlled for socio-economic level of the students' families, the tendency for Canadian born students whose first language was other than English or French to be clustered in the higher levels of academic programmes is even more marked.

The relationship between age of arrival of immigrant students and levels of study is also of relevance: The older the children on arrival in Canada, the less likely they are to be studying at the advanced levels. It is well documented, and it has also been our experience, that school placement and school success are related both to family structure and socio-economic status.

Culturally conditioned attitudes toward education and expectations of the educational system are of obvious importance. In a study of

Grade Eight students in Toronto (Larter, Cheng, Capps & Lee, 1982), this was borne out by several findings. First, the students on the whole value education greatly. Second, those students considering university attendance were more likely to come from higher socio-economic level families and from particular cultural ethnic groups than those students who were not considering university attendance and felt they did not have the ability for it.

It is also of interest in this survey that high socio-economic level students did not rank education as being as important as did low socio-economic students, and that students from different cultural/ethnic backgrounds rank the importance of education differently.

Another factor of importance is that of generational differences in expectations and perceptions. In dealing with any student population, particularly adolescents, the disparity which may exist between the attitudes of student and parent must obviously be taken into account. Such disparities can of course be even greater when dealing with minority populations. The speed and ease with which adaptations are made to the culture of the host country can be quite different for both parents and child. The outlook and the orientation of the upwardly mobile child can be at great variance with those of his or her parents. All of these illustrations highlight the fact that the minority population with which we are confronted is far from homogeneous. There are a very large number of important characteristics of this population which interact in a complex matrix of influences.

The Nature of the School System

In attempting to help disadvantaged minority group students, particularly those with learning or cognitive deficits, to experience a more rewarding school life, it is obviously necessary to have as good an understanding as possible of the nature of the populations with which we are dealing. It is equally vital to have an understanding of the school system itself, both as an institution and as a learning environment. Too often schools have singled out students with problems or difficulties as identified patients or culprits who need to be changed in some way to make them fit more readily into existing school programmes. If that could not be done readily within the regular classroom, students so identified often have been shunted off into special programmes. There, those with more expertise or tolerance could attempt, in a more controlled environment, to effect the desired changes. As a last resort such programmes could at least provide containment.

Such approaches are often comfortable for all the adults concerned. They leave out, however, one-half of the equation; learning difficulties or deficits have no meaning outside the context of a learning programme. The programme itself must be examined as closely as the student in difficulty. We must be as ready to identify problems, difficulties and deficits in school programmes as we are to label students.

It is a fact that members of some cultural/ethnic minority groups are over-represented in special education programmes, as are students from lower socio-economic groups. One contributing factor is the tendency to use special education programmes for remedial purposes rather than reserving them for pupils with a clearly definable intrinsic deficit. A second contributing factor is often the nature of special education programmes themselves. In most North American jurisdictions, they are based on a quasi-medical model with categories of deficit ranging from clearly identifiable physical handicaps to fairly loose and vague conceptions of learning disabilities, defined in part on the basis of wide exclusion clauses. Entry into the various programmes usually requires the student to be certified by board personnel as being exceptional and as having specified disabilities. This approach seems to serve to exacerbate the fears and apprehensions of both students and parents, and to bring to the fore, by necessity, issues and controversies involved in labelling, test bias and test fairness.

As our Psychological Service has pointed out, in a report to the Toronto Board of Education (Toronto Board of Education, 1982):

> Certainly there is substantial evidence that learning difficulties can be caused by such diverse factors as genetic predisposition, brain damage, and environmental factors. All of these factors (and many others) can influence the functioning of a child's brain, and thus the success with which he will be able to deal with any particular task or learning situation.
>
> For any particular child, however, it is very difficult to pinpoint what the particular cause may have been. Even if there is a relevant genetic history or evidence of brain damage, one cannot be sure that these factors have actually caused the presenting difficulty . . . Since causation is so difficult to determine, and since it is possible to devise strategies for helping a child irrespective of the cause, there seems no reason to consider causation as an issue when dealing with individual children . . . It is often possible to make substantial progress in understanding a child's learning difficulties and even to suggest ways of remediating them without reference to the underlying cause of the difficulty.

Implications for Service

The implications of the foregoing for providing services to minority children, particularly those with learning or cognitive deficits, are many. The complex and many-faceted nature of our minority populations, and the large number of variables relevant to their well-being and achievement in the school system, require a body of service providers with considerable professional expertise and sensitivity, as well as an understanding of the minority populations which they are serving. Frequently updated research information concerning the relevant characteristics of our minority communities is a necessary base from which we can operate effectively. It also means that both in-service training of an ongoing nature and recruitment are of considerable importance.

This raises the issue of the recruitment of professional staff from the cultural/ethnic groups which are to be served. Usually considerations of the supply of resources and logistics makes the issue largely academic. It is manifestly impossible to insure that all members of minority groups be counselled only by professional staff from that same background, even if that were considered to be desirable. Research on this latter point seems, at best, equivocal (Reynolds, 1982). It is important, however, to insure that there be representatives of as many of the minority groups served as is possible on the staff. This tends to increase the sensitivity of the staff to the issues, problems and influences which are particularly important for each of the minority groups. Such staff members are also available when those cases arise in which contact with a professional from the same cultural group does seem to be of importance, either to the student or to the parent. This is always necessary, for example, when the parent is unable to communicate effectively in English.

Another major implication for service delivery arises from the notion that it is important to examine the learning environment in general, and the school programme in particular, when considering the welfare of children having learning difficulties. It is our contention that it is more profitable to put less emphasis on categorizing and gate-keeping, and more upon an analysis of a student's cognitive functions and learning style as well as the development of a school programme compatible with them. Such a pragmatic approach obviously involves a considerable degree of co-operation and trust amongst non-teaching professional staff, teachers, principals and curriculum consultants. It is, however, far more likely to be effective as a problem-solving approach and less alarming for parents and students, as well. It is also less likely to result in large numbers of students being streamed into special education programmes without a first attempt being made to untangle the learning difficulty within the context of the child's regular class.

It is even more important to carry the same pragmatic philosophy into the arena of prevention. It is obviously far more humane, as well as far less expensive, to deal with incipient learning difficulties as early in the child's school career as is possible, to try to insure that school programmes become more responsive to the learning needs and learning styles of all children in the class.

To this end, the Toronto Board of Education has established its Appraisal for Better Curriculum Programme which provides the teacher with information to be used to help adjust the programme to meet the educational needs of all the children in the classroom. The data is collected by the teacher, school nurse and Psychological Services' personnel from diverse sources such as parent interviews, classroom observations, informal assessment techniques and some formalized testing. The programme is carried out when the child first enrols in school, again during the fall term of the Grade One year, and during the fall term of the Grade Four year. A pilot programme is also underway in a few Grade Seven classrooms. Decisions as to what kind of information will be obtained and the methods for obtaining it are made locally by each school team, which consists of the principal, classroom teacher and the school psychologist. Following collection of the data the information is discussed, as are the implications for programming, by the members of the school team often with the help of a consultant from the Curriculum Division.

All of the approaches which I have suggested are labour intensive. They involve the use of a large professional staff. The Toronto Board of Education with some 77,000 students employs four psychiatrists, fifty-three Psychological Services' personnel and fifty-seven Social Work staff. It is our belief, however, that cheaper programmes utilizing non-professional staff or substituting batteries of standardized measures for the flexibility and clinical expertise of professional staff are far less effective and more costly, certainly in human terms, in the long run.

When addressing the needs of minority students it is also vital to draw on the resources of parents from the various cultural/ethnic communities. Involving parent groups in planning and staff development not only brings a valuable resource to bear, but also serves to reduce the feelings of alienation of minority parents as they are enlisted as partners in an effort to further the attainment of the educational goals of their children. This is a most important factor in creating a favourable learning climate for minority students. If parents regard the local public education system as an alien and hostile institution, it is highly unlikely that their children will feel comfortable in it.

Finally, to serve minority students adequately, educational systems must be seen to be striving to become social institutions in which all segments of society can place trust and confidence. To do so they must provide a wide range of educational programmes of high quality. They must seek to involve communities in decision-making about schools. Avove all they must demonstrate their good faith through equal opportunity, affirmative action and race relations programmes and policies in all aspects of their operations.

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Counselling Double-Minority Status Clients

Marvin J. Westwood and James W. Vargo

Almost all definitions of counselling involve a commitment by professionals to enhancing the well-being of their clients by assisting in their adjustment to their social-psychological context and by helping them solve problems. When the client is distinctly different from the dominant group, either in a physical status or in cultural designation, a special challenge faces the counsellor.

Researches and professionals in the fields of rehabilitation counselling and intercultural counselling have outlined some of the special needs of the ethnic minority client (Sue, 1981; Westwood, 1983; Wolfgang, 1975) and the physically disabled client (Bolton & Jaques, 1979; Buscaglia, 1975; Marinelli & Dell Orto, 1977; Shontz, 1975; Stubbins, 1977; Vargo, 1978a, 1978b; Wright, 1960). When one sees the problems typical of these two groups present in the same individual, i.e., the minority group client with a disability, the difficulties are compounded. For the purposes of this paper, we have chosen to label such a person a "double-minority status" client.

Some writers have suggested that it is important not to confuse the terms "handicap" and "disability" (Hamilton, 1950; Vargo, 1978a, 1978b; Vash, 1981; Wright, 1960). "Disability" refers to the medical fact that some part of the body is not functioning as it should, whereas "handicap" involves the interaction of the individual with society

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Marvin J. Westwood, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Counselling Psychology at the Faculty of Education of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

James W. Vargo, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Occupational Therapy of the Faculty of Rehabilitative Medicine at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

(Hamilton, 1950; Vargo, 1978b). To quote Vargo (1978b, p. 15) the "importance of this distinction is that 'disabilities' may be 'handicaps' but not necessarily so."

When one looks at the forms of discrimination which confront physically disabled individuals (e.g., architectural barriers) and distinct minority groups (e.g., job denial), one can see the potential for the confounding effect of the handicap when the minority group person is also disabled. That person then has double-minority status.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the following: (a) how cultural factors shape the perceptions of the minority status client who has a physical disability; (b) identification of the common problems encountered by individuals who experience double-minority group status; and (c) implications and recommendations for counsellors.

Cultural Views and Attitudes Toward Disability

Attitudes toward the disabled are often deeply rooted within a culture. For instance, one of the major obstacles to acceptance of the disabled in Japan is that country's norm of conformity (Kojima, 1977). Members of Japanese society are taught from infancy onward that to be different is to be unacceptable. In the North American context, reviews of the literature suggest that attitudes towards the disabled are, for the most part, negative (Kutner, 1971; Roeher, 1961; Tenny, 1953; Westwood, Vargo & Vargo, 1981; Wright, 1960). This is especially disheartening when one realizes that, in general, people with disabilities tend to be viewed more positively in countries that are more industrialized (Schneider & Anderson, 1980).

Richardson, Goodman, Hastorf and Dornbusch (1961) have argued that attitudes toward people with disabilities are uniform across cultures. This conclusion was based on a study which had disabled and nondisabled children from various ethnic/cultural backgrounds rank order drawings of children depicted as follows: (a) sitting in a wheelchair, (b) wearing leg braces and crutches, (c) missing a hand, (d) with facial disfigurement, (e) an obese child and (f) a nondisabled child. Results confirmed the researchers' hypothesis that all children would show the same order of preference.

Yuker (1983) has recently criticized Richardson et al.'s notion of cultural uniformity in attitudes toward the disabled. He argues that the results of studies conducted by Richardson and his colleagues (e.g., Richardson & Emerson, 1970; Richardson et al., 1961; Richardson &

Royce, 1968) are merely an artifact of the instrumentation used (The Picture Ranking Test). Furthermore, Yuker contends that when other methodological procedures are employed, "cultural uniformity" fails to emerge. Support for Yuker's contention was provided by Chigier and Chigier (1968), who replicated Richardson's methodology in a study of 1,333 ten- and eleven-year olds in Israel, but found that the only variable related to attitude preference was socio-economic status.

Poverty and sex are also important variables in the attitudes equation. Fully 80% of the disabled population live in Third World countries, where one of the major contributors to disabilities is malnutrition (Tate & Weston, 1982). In these countries, the low social status accorded women may take its toll as well. In some cultures, for example, a girl will be fed only what is left after her fahter and brothers have eaten. The compounding effect of being disabled and being female is well documented in an excellent discussion by Tate and Weston (1982).

It is clear that members of distinct ethnic minorities are targets of the same types of discrimination and prejudice as those discussed above (Sue, 1981; Vontress, 1971; Wolfgang, 1975). Some researchers (Chesler, 1965; Tenny, 1953; Yuker, 1965) have reported a close relationship between prejudice toward people with disabilities and prejudice toward ethnic minorities.

Linveh (1982) attempted to integrate the literature on attitude formation into a classification scheme which better systematized how people arrive at their beliefs about people with disabilities. Linveh derived 12 sources of negative attitudes toward the disabled, a very important one of which was social and cultural norms.

It is clear that different cultures view disabilities differently. For instance, in their research of attitudes toward disabled persons in Greece, Denmark and the United States, Jaques, Linkowski and Seika (1970) found a significant overall effect due to culture, with Americans exhibiting the most positive attitudes, followed by the Danes and the Greeks. Although they found no significant overall effect due to sex, there was a strong interaction effect between sex and culture. For the Greek sample, women displayed more positive attitudes than men, while for Denmark the opposite was true. There was no significant difference between men and women in the American sample.

As a possible explanation for the existence of attitude differences as a function of cultural context, Cloerkes (1979) indicated that how people view and treat people with disabilities within a given culture is shaped by the attitudes learned in that culture, and that furthermore, "these attitudes are rigid, fundamental, deep rooted and culturally uniform" (p. 383). As an illustration, let us consider what might be the response within two distinct cultural groups to a father who suddenly becomes physically disabled. Depending on the cultural group of which he is a member, others may see him as worthless, an incumberance or someone worthy of more respect. Consequently, as Vargo (1979) points out, the responses can include avoidance, pity or ambivalence. In a North American home the father may now be seen as someone who can no longer be the head of the househould due to the change in his physical status. For an East Indian family, his new status may cause the family to now see him a someone who will have more of a role in decision-making; someone who through the destiny of life has been elevated to a special position. Wright (1960) referred to this as the opposite of an inferior position, one of "salutory status" characterized by a special gift or wisdom now bestowed upon the disabled individual. In this regard, Vash (1981) reports on how a belief in reincarnation altered the attitudes of a rehabilitation administrator. When the administrator encounters a person who is disabled, she feels none of the negative emotions usually reported by the literature. Instead, she asks herself ". . . What are you working out this time? I wonder if you are at a higher level of development than I for having come to such a test" (Vash, 1981, p. 27).

Some cultures encourage the individual with a disability to become autonomous and to integrate into general society; other cultures prescribe the role of invalid, someone to be cared for. These quite different sets of introjected values are powerful determiners of the way in which disabled members of a society set life goals and how they see themselves achieving them.

Common Problems Encountered by Disabled Individuals of Distinct Minority Groups

Westwood et al. (1981) indicate that individuals with disabilities tend to develop attitudes towards the disability by introjecting the dominant cultural values toward disability. This process is described thusly:

> Often the perceived evaluation or acceptance by others becomes so important to the client that behavior becomes dominated by what the client believed will cause others to respond in favorable and positive ways. (Westwood et al., 1981, p. 222).

This created problems because disabled individuals then tend not to value their own experiences but those of others. The result is usually a sense of confusion and ambivalence. The problem is further heightened in that the values held by others are largely negative.

For the minority group member, confusion can be great in that the attitudes being introjected from one's own group of identity are different from those of the dominant group. Rejection of self is more likely when one adds to this the negative evaluations typically directed at someone who is viewed as ethnically or racially different from the dominant group. As a response to two sets of negative attitudes, such individuals tend to avoid contact with the mainstream of society out of fear of social rejection or social stigmatization.

Some researchers have indicated that individuals with physical disabilities tend to have low self-concept and poor interaction skills (Grimes, 1980; Morgan & Leung, 1980). For members of distinct minority groups in a larger society, there is a tendency to evolve in a similar manner (Sue, 1981). Thus a common experience for such individuals is the tendency to mistrust contacts with the dominant group, especially in terms of seeking help or following through once contact has been made. Sue found that over 50% of minority status clients terminate counselling compared with 40% of the majority group. The counsellor, typically from the dominant culture, needs to be aware of his own absorbed prejudices in this regard (Westwood, 1983).

Recognizing that specific cultural groups define disability differently, a special consideration emerges when counselling a minority group person in a country such as Canada wherein the client's personal cultural identity may be in a state of flux. One can imagine the confusion which can result when the individual has strongly acculturated to the Canadian context yet holds a strong ethnic identity, especially around such issues as physical disability. Which reference group is most important to this individual?

Another complication exists when the client strongly identifies with his own group vis-à-vis being disabled, but does not live in a culturally homogeneous community. As a result the inner perception of self would likely be determined by the group around him – in this case the dominant group (Vargo, 1978b). In such circumstances, it is necessary for the counsellor to assess the degree of acculturation, community affiliation and support, and self-perception of the client.

Typical Responses of Minority Group Members with Physical Disabilities

Given the variations of cultural identity regarding physical disability plus the tendency of such clients to encounter specific problems in intercultural situations, this particular type of client must be understood in terms of some specific responses which can be expected to appear.

Stages of Psychological Development to Disability

The stages as first identified by Kubler-Ross (1970) and modified by Vargo (1979) may be experienced differently, depending on the interaction effect between cultural perceptions of disabilities and the psychological stages which typify the individual who becomes physically disabled.

Being a member of an ethnic minority group tends to bring with it a continual from of mild defensiveness due to the response of the dominant group towards those who appear different (Samuda, 1975; Westwood, 1983). Couple this with the clients' own psychological reactions to becoming disabled in a society which is not their original cultural group, and a heightened state of confusion, anxiety and distrust of others would be understandable.

With reference to counselling or seeking assistance, it is well known that distinct minority groups tend to avoid counselling services (Padilla, Ruiz & Alvarez, 1975; Sue, 1981). Inappropriateness of interpersonal interactions between client and counsellor is given as the major reason for premature termination and avoidance. More specifically, it appears that the three most common barriers are (1) language differences between the counsellor and client, (2) the models or approaches used are those developed on a middle-class value system, and (3) culture-bound definitions of what's normal and what's abnormal.

Once I am not only a member of a minority group, but also someone with a severe physical disability, chances are I am even more hesitant to see the counsellor as one who is to be trusted or helpful in view of my assumption that (1) you probably don't understand me from either of the two perspectives, and (2) there is a good chance that I don't understand myself, because the feedback I'm receiving in the form of cultural messages in this regard are not consistent.

State of Acculturation

Reactions to physical disability are further complicated due to the possibility that the adult is in a different stage of acculturation from other members of the family. It is well known that distinct minority groups experience different views of self and their own cultural identity as a function of the length of exposure to the dominant culture and as a result of the size of the cultural gab between the host country and the society of origin (Salvendy, 1983). Imagine the mother of an Asian family who strongly identifies with her Chineseness now feeling misunderstood on two levels: (1) by her adolescent children, who feel wholely Canadian and tend to view the disability from this perspective rather than that of their parents, and (2) by the grandparents, who may also be a part of her family.

The role of the family as a source of support and meaning is particularly critical for most distinct minority groups, compared with North Americans who place more value on individualism (Westwood, 1983). The reaction of a person with a disability, then, will be determined to a large extent by the type of acceptance or nonacceptance received from various family members.

Implications and Recommendations for Counsellors

1. Awareness of counsellor's role

Wolfgang (1975) has shown that the majority of distinct minority groups have no reference for counselling. As an illustration, Westwood and Massey (1982), in a survey of East Indian adolescents and adults, found that not only had these individuals had minimal contact with counsellors, but in many cases had little or no information about what a counsellor does. In view of this, it becomes the counsellor's responsibility to introduce and explain the role of counselling to the new client before any type of therapeutic rapport can be established.

2. Difficulties in rapport building

High-quality contact is typically difficult for counsellors to establish with minority status clients (Anderson, 1978; Sue & Sue, 1977; Ramcharan, 1975). In order to foster rapport, counsellors must be perceived as being knowledgeable about clients' cultural groups as well as about their various physical disabilities. Finally, rapport building with clients who are visibly different from the mainstream of society is only possible once counsellors have come to terms with their own uneasiness with distinct physical differences in others. Knowing one's adsorbed prejudices will assist in explaining one's personal reactions to particular clients. Knowledge of one's own ethnic racial experiences coupled with an understanding of one's response to disability will help the counsellor maintain a greater degree of objectivity and effectiveness in helping the client. Negative countertransference as a problem in counselling has been discussed by Bloombaum, Yamamoto and James (1968).

3. Degree of acculturation

To understand the degree to which the client's disability is viewed from a distinct cultural perspective, the counsellor must determine to what degree the client has acculturated to the dominant culture and to what degree the identity with a particular ethnic group is evident. Too often counsellors assume that clients who look different also hold different values. This is not necessarily the case. The value of this type of assessment is that it can help counsellors understand clients own views of their disabilities and can also provide some points of reference on the extent to which families may become part of the counselling process.

4. Assessment and vocational choice

Vocational decisions for minority status clients frequently work to their disadvantage, e.g., due to lack of fluency in English and poorer performance on language-based tests, clients are often perceived as less capable in overall ability (Westwood, 1983). When counselling a double-minority status client the required assessment of vocational competence and the functional limitations related to the disability, interact with the lowered expectations of ethnicity to place the client at a decided disadvantage in the job market (Samuda, 1975).

Summary

The research literature on attitudes toward ethnic minority groups and toward people with disabilities is replete with findings of prejudice and discrimination. The problems experienced by each of these groups are compounded when a person from an ethnic/racial minority becomes disabled through illness or injury. That person then assumes double-minority status. Counselling these clients requires both a knowledge of the psychological factors affecting adjustment to disability and an awareness of the mechanisms of acculturation, as well as the interaction effect between the two. When dealing with double-minority-status clients, it is recommended that counsellors take into account four specific factors: (1) the client's concept of counselling, (2) difficulties in rapport building, (3) the degree of acculturation, and (4) the implications of vocational assessment and choice.

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Counselling Minorities in Higher Education

Bill W. Dick

This chapter will focus on both the general or basic requisites for effective counselling of minority persons in higher education as well as on specific issues and approaches that pertain to this endeavour. The author writes from a practitioner's perspective, and hence his insights are based on case studies derived either from personal professional experience or from that of counselling colleagues.

Basic Requisites for Effective Counselling of Minorities in Higher Education

First and foremost, the counsellor must always attempt to ascertain where the counsellee is "coming from." This requires time and talent to tune in on what the minority student is experiencing and what his "Weltanschauung" or philosophy of life happens to be. In order to do this, the counsellor must be aware of his own world view and have a solid and comprehensive grounding in the values and beliefs of a variety of other cultures.

He must also be able to approach and draw out the minority student in a sensitive and non-threatening manner. Stewart (1976) in his treatment of cultural sensitivities in counselling refers to the German concept of "Einfühlung," usually translated as empathy. Actually, the term implies a deep aesthetic, if not a kinesthetic, experience. Adaptation of the neuro-linguistic programming approach shows great potential, especially when verbal communication barriers exist.

Bill W. Dick, Ph.D., is Director of Counselling Services at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

Another prime requisite for the counsellor is that of respect or unconditional positive regard as emphasized by Carl Rogers (1961). This may demand an in-depth soul-searching to ascertain what underlying biases or prejudices toward persons of another culture may be present in spite of conscious claims to be accepting and non-judgemental.

A related requisite for a counsellor of minorities is to guard against the subtle imposition of one's own values. Quite frequently, minority students feel either an inward desire or external pressure to conform to or to adopt the value system of the majority culture into which they have come to pursue their studies. This can create an inner conflict which may even be a part of their motivation for seeking counselling assistance. One obvious and easy route for the counsellor to take is to persuade or encourage the student to adopt the majority view with little regard for the merits of the minority student's culture.

The above requisites obviously apply to effective counselling in general, but in my opinion become even more crucial when dealing with minority students. All intercultural counsellors in higher education institutions should have a good understanding of cross-cultural research. Two examples of cross-cultural writing that might serve as basic background prerequisites for inter-cultural counsellors are Queen and Haberstein's *The Family in Various Cultures* (1974) and Brislin's *Cross-Cultural Encounters* (1981).

Hall and Maloney (1983) have presented an excellent literature review on the types of cultural control reflected in counselling situations with minority Black clients. They muster impressive evidence to show that psychotherapy in its traditional sense is often used as a form of maintaining control of the cultural majority norms. They propose that problems with minority clients in psychotherapy could be reduced through the culturally-pluralistic training of mental health professionals.

Specific Suggestions for Dealing with Minority Students

While counselling in general operates from a reactive stance, i.e., being available to students who are self-motivated to come for counselling, a pro-active stance seems more appropriate, if not imperative, to the counselling of minority students. This would apply in particular to both the point at which they decide to go on to higher education as well as in the early stages of their college experience.

Minority students tend to struggle with self-doubts and inner fears about their competence in coping with the demands of higher education. Hence, those students showing superior levels of academic ability need a great deal of encouragement and concrete suggestions on how to cope with a new and frighteningly demanding situation.

Recently, I visited a large university in the Southern states with a growing number of minority Black students. The minorities counsellor, a highly energetic and resourceful Black female, told me that she spends very little time in her office in the Counselling Center. She goes out to where the minority students get together and develops meaningful contacts through informal interaction. She is convinced that many capable students give up and disappear from the college scene because they find the overall demands of a new environment too overwhelming. They would certainly not seek out a counsellor on their own; usually, they are unfamiliar with or unaware of such facilities.

The minority student also needs special consideration or assistance during the counselling process. A career counsellor for minorities students found that in general their profiles on interest inventories were very depressed and difficult to interpret. She discovered that the minority students have a poor understanding of many of the occupational titles to which they were asked to respond. So she adopted the policy of exposing the students to the career monographs in order to raise their level of understanding of the variety of occupations before the career interest inventories were administered.

The careful and creative application of the peer principle in intercultural counselling holds the potential for the effective enhancement of the minorities' counsellor's role. A peer in this context is defined as someone similar to the counsellee in terms of age, cultural background and experience. An astute counsellor will draw on the involvement of such a peer as a powerful supplement to the facilitative process of counselling.

Another method of deplying peer counsellors is the involvement of senior students from various national or cultural groups. One such program at the University of Waterloo was called Countryman Counselling.

Counselling of Minority Students in Canadian High Educational Institutions

In most College Counselling Centers across the United States, minority counsellors have been specifically designated to deal with minority students. In Canada however, with a few exceptions, this is not the case. The reason for this difference between the two countries is due to the large and vocal Black and hispanic minorities present on many U.S. campuses. In Canada, the only clearly designated counsellors for minorities are located in only a few Prairie institutions that have large Native Indian populations.

However, this does not mean that there is no need to be aware of and sensitive to the needs of minority students on Canadian campuses. In fact, because there is no specific designation minority counsellor, the evidence suggests that the needs of minority students are often ignored or overlooked.

Minority students are, in fact, present in significant numbers in Canadian colleges and universities. While many of these students are well on their way to becoming assimilated into the Canadian culture, their minority background present numerous difficulties for many of them in a variety of life situations.

Typical Examples of Minority Students Seeking Counselling Assistance

I would now like to cite a few recent case examples that illustrate the kinds of difficulties that minority students encounter in a large Canadian university setting.

- Here is an attractive and bright graduate student who is so upset that she sees no reason to keep on living. Her parents immigrated from Northeastern Europe when she was a young child. She was taunted and teased by her peers about her background during the elementary and high school years. When she came to university she developed a relationship with a young man of WASPish background, and in time they became engaged. Then he suddenly jilted her ostensibly because his parents did not approve of her cultural background. This has now triggered both a deep depression and feelings of despair.
- Here is another student who on the surface appears like a typical young Canadian. She is from the West Coast and has come East to en-

roll in a course in Health Studies with a view to pursuing naturopathy. At the beginning of her second year she is considering leaving this program mainly because she finds it difficult to identify with the goals and values of her fellow students. Upon further questioning it turns out that, while she is a member of a religious sect which shares many of the lifestyle concerns of the naturopathic movement, her basic identification is still oriented towards the minority group with which she is affiliated.

- Here is another student of Chinese background who seems to have become assimilated into Canadian culture, so much so that she has developed an intensely romantic relationship with an Anglo-Saxon Canadian. However, she feels very upset because of the guilt of not wanting to share this situation with her parents who she feels would be deeply hurt. Yet, she still feels a strong identification with her Chinese heritage and thus feels highly ambivalent and distraught.

Beyond the above examples, one could cite many other instances of subtle prejudice toward minority students, even though in recent years a much more pluralistic stance seems to be prevalent in which the idiosyncratic differences of minority students are respected and special consideration is given. This is particularly noticeable on the part of counsellors dealing with foreign students. In the main the students' difficulties centre on the initial adjustment to another alien climate of academia.

Conclusion

While most counsellors in higher educational settings in Canada are trying to meet the specific needs of minority students, there is, from an ideal intercultural perspective, much room for improvement. It is encouraging to note the introduction of courses by counsellor educators at places like the University of British Columbia's Faculty of Education and the University of Toronto's Ontario Institute of Studies in Education. Obviously, this is a mere beginning and affects only a small number of counsellors in training. Hence, I would recommend that attempts be made for an ongoing in-service training and professional development for existing counsellors in order to raise their level of awareness and sensitivity to the multi-faceted needs of minority students in higher education.

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PART VI

Training Programs for Intercultural Counselling

PART VI

Introduction

Aaron Wolfgang and Peter Waxer focus on the importance of nonverbal behavior in intercultural counselling. They assume that being more sensitive and aware of nonverbal behavior and how it operates in intercultural situations will facilitate the counselling process. Wolfgang and Waxer look at what opportunities are available for training intercultural counsellors and argue that the writers and trainers in intercultural counselling do not seem to be giving much coverage to the role, function and impact of nonverbal behavior in intercultural counselling. The authors describe in some detail their respective approaches to enhance sensitivity to nonverbal behavior. Wolfgang and Waxer conclude their paper with a discussion of the future needs in the area of intercultural counselling.

Raymond Chodzinski and Ronald Samuda give the reader an overview of some of the problems, issues and concerns in testing and evaluating ethnic minorities. They look at the current new trends in testing and some of the alternatives to help reduce general test bias. They see a need to instruct and train practioners in the use and implementation of nonbiased test procedures and give an outline for a basic training program or model for nonbiased assessment that focuses on the strengths and assets of the child.

Raymond Chodzinski provides us with a broad perspective of issues and ways by which school counsellors can increase their effectiveness in intercultural counselling. He defines some of the important barriers in the intercultural counselling situation and makes some useful suggestions toward enhancing counsellor competency. He argues that traditional counsellor training models need change to include a focus on multicultural issues. Chodzinski sees the role of the intercultural counsellor not only as a facilitator for helping ethnic minority students solve their personal and vocational problems but also as a facilitator to help promote a positive atmosphere in the school so that interaction between minorities, peers, teachers and school officials can be relatively smooth.

Raymond Perry and Rodney Clifton examine the counsellor's role in the multicultural school particularly at the classroom and student levels. At the classroom level, they discuss how the counsellor can provide teacher assistance by training or instructing teachers on how to do classroom assessments and develop classroom remediation programs to help eliminate prejudice and discrimination. On the level of intercultural counselling for students, the authors see the school counsellor as providing more direct assistance by doing psychological and intellectual assessments as well as selecting remediation procedures that best fit individuals from particular ethnic groups. Perry and Clifton conclude by discussing the concepts of powerlessness and learned helplessness and their implications for intercultural counselling.

Judith Torney-Purta concludes this section by providing insights from the field of intercultural counselling of interest to educators. More specifically, she looks at some training techniques, models, materials or exercises that simulate intercultural experiences useful to training both counsellors and teachers working in an intercultural school setting. Furthermore, Torney-Purta discusses some of the basic underlining assumptions relating to intercultural interaction and their implications for intercultural counselling and teaching.

In Part VI, the authors tackle some important issues and make suggestions for the training of intercultural counsellors that have applications for teacher training as well. More specifically, the intercultural counsellor's role is examined, training programs or models suggested in the use of nonverbal behavior, the reduction of test bias, and some practical uses of training techniques from the field of intercultural counselling and intercultural communications are proposed for use in educational settings.

Training Counsellors to Enhance Their Sensitivity to Nonverbal Behavior

Aaron Wolfgang and Peter H. Waxer

In this paper we will describe two approaches for training counsellors who will be or are already working in an intercultural setting to be sensitive to nonverbal behavior. Why train counsellors to be aware and sensitive to nonverbal behavior? Why is nonverbal behavior important, particularly in intercultural counselling? It is assumed that being more sensitive and aware of nonverbal behavior will enhance intercultural communication and therefore facilitate the counselling process.

There is at this point no one specific definition of nonverbal behavior that has wide acceptance among those in the field. For purposes of this paper we will use the current broad definition of nonverbal behavior as behavior that transcends the written or spoken word (Harrison, 1974). Nonverbal behavior is a primary focus because it operates largely out of our awareness (Argyle, 1975; Wolfgang, 1975a), is culturally conditioned (Hall, 1976) and conveys our feelings and attitudes toward others even more than the spoken word (Mehrabian, 1972; Tepper & Haase, 1978; Waxer, 1977). Unlike language, nonverbal behavior is difficult to manipulate and rehearse. We are rarely able to see our facial expressions when interacting with others, unless of course we carry a mirror or videotape machine with us wherever we go.

What opportunities are available for training intercultural counsellors? In the United States, there are no academic degree programs

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Aaron Wolfgang, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Department of Applied Psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and the University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Peter H. Waxer, Ph.D., is Associate Professor in Psychology in the Counselling and Development Centre of York University, Downsview, Ontario, and Chief Psychologist for the York-Finch General Hospital, Ontario, Canada.

specifically designed to train counsellors in intercultural counselling skills (Pedersen, 1981), and the same is true for Canada. It seems that one potential avenue for training is through in-service programs. However, this is neither a very consistent nor a common happening. Nor is there much attention given to this area at professional meetings or conferences for intercultural counsellors. In fact, there are few well-trained specialists to train intercultural counsellors. This is an appalling state of affairs in the light of the racial and cultural diversity of students across the United States and Canada. Thus, overall, counsellors are left on their own to find avenues for receiving proper information and training in this field. Because of the general lack of research interest in this area, we have no real way of fully assessing to what extent counsellors are hurting or helping ethnic minority students.

Although a strong case can be made for the importance of nonverbal behavior in intercultural communication and counselling, we find that nonverbal behavior is frequently given little or no coverage in current books on cross-cultural counselling (e.g., Atkinson, Morton & Sue, 1979; Marsella & Pederson, 1980; Pederson, Lonner & Draguns, 1981; Sue, 1981), in handbooks for intercultural training (e.g., Landis & Brislin, 1983) or in reviews in cross-cultural psychology (e.g., Brislin, 1983).

It is not clear why the writers and trainers in intercultural counselling are not utilizing the large body of accumulated knowledge. Perhaps the lack of awareness about nonverbal variables is because of its relative newness, or perhaps the applicability of the research for training purposes is still in doubt. Thus, there is no need to give systematic training in understanding its role, function and potential impact in intercultural counselling. However, unless intercultural counsellors are sensitized to their own nonverbal behavior and that of their intercultural clients, a greater likelihood exists that the wrong nonverbal messages will be conveyed, and that inappropriate judgments about the client's behavior will follow. In training counsellors to be sensitive and act responsibly toward their intercultural clients they must be attuned to the total communication process which involves verbal behavior, nonverbal behavior and culture. It is toward those goals that two alternative approaches are discussed.

Two Training Approaches to Enhance Sensitivity to Nonverbal Behavior

The first approach describes a program which the second author has employed in the last few years with clinical psychology graduates and psychiatric nurses.

Training for Nonverbal Sensitivity: 1

This approach has three major steps. First, trainees view videotapes of actual psychiatric patients showing, in one set of tapes, signs of anxiety and in a second set, signs of depression. The goal is that exposure and training will lead trainees to a greater awareness of the importance of the nonverbal cues for emotional display in all cultures. The second training step has trainees viewing tapes of simulated therapy sessions in which trainees take turns being both counsellor and client. The third step in their training package is a repetition of step two using video tapes from their actual counselling sessions. Both the second and third segments of training permit increasing sensitivity to nonverbal cues generated by both client and counsellor and the important interaction between verbal and nonverbal aspects of counselling.

Each of these steps will be discussed more fully below in order to relate the overall approach to the cross-cultural context. Much of this training approach has a transcultural element already built into it, as will become more evident in the following discussion.

STEP I: Introducing trainees to video segments
of psychiatric patients

Based on earlier research findings (Waxer 1974, 1977), this section required individuals to do three things: look at a given video segment of a patient and

a) check off how anxious they think the person is based on a conventional 10-point scale (zero-no anxiety, 10-very anxious);

b) check off on an accompanying list which body areas convey this impression of anxiety. Trainees choose from forehead, eyebrows, eyes, mouth, chin, neck, head angle, torso, arms, hands, legs, feet or other.

c) briefly indicate in writing just how a given body area conveys this picture of anxiety.

After trainees have a chance to rate 20 such segments, the actual anxiety scores of the patients are presented, so that trainees can see just how accurate they are in their judgments (Waxer, 1977).

Next, trainees are invited to discuss what body areas conveyed anxiety and how these body areas worked to give a nonverbal message. At the end of such a discussion, the blackboard usually shows four or five body areas upon which trainees have collectively agreed and a second bit of less frequently identified cues. Thus, anxious individuals are characteristically seen as showing more jittery, stroking hand movements, smiling less but but making more nervous lip "lick-bites." Such people are usually seen as having poorer eye contact, with a "shifty-eye" gaze pattern and appear more rigid in their torso region.

As a final, reinforcing step in this initial training, a second video tape of twenty anxious patients is shown to trainees once again, asking trainees to perform the three tasks discussed above. Characteristically, trainees do much better rating these new video segments, given the initial sensitizing and instruction.

The next step in training repeats the instructions to trainees. However, this time trainees rate video segments showing depressed patients. Thus, through their own efforts, trainees find that important nonverbal cues for depression include a downcast gaze with significantly lower frequency and duration of eye contact, down-turned mouth and hands, and a low level of hand movement.

The reader may ask why the emphasis is on anxiety and depression in this first section of training. The reason is twofold. First, anxiety and depression are the most common emotions seen in the counselling setting, and as such they are a good starting point to enhanced sensitivity to nonverbal cues for all the emotions. Second, and more pertinent here, there is much research (e.g., Izard & Izard 1980; Ekman & Friesen, 1975; Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1979) to show that the nonverbal display of many emotions (e.g., fear, joy, anger, happiness and surprise) are pancultural. The video tapes employed in this section of training include patients of many nationalities (e.g., Korean, West Indian, Italian, Scottish, Native American, French Canadian, Yugoslavian, etc.). It therefore appears that anxiety and depression possess a good measure of cultural universality. These two emotional displays provide a good starting point for the trainees' increased sensitivity to nonverbal and emotional expression found in various cultures.

STEP II: Training focusing on recording and analyzing therapy dyads

The first section of training represents essentially the initial stages of counselling, where some form of diagnosis is being made. As is suggested above, nonverbal elements are an important part of this diagnostic decision-making. There is, of course, much more to therapy, including other critical areas of nonverbal sensitizing. This section of training focuses on the nonverbal cues arising out of the therapy dialogue. Not only client-generated nonverbal cues but also therapist-generated ones are brought to the trainees' attention.

Each trainee in this second phase video-tapes two other trainees in a simulated counselling session. Each trainee at this stage rotates through the three positions of client, counsellor and cameraperson. Trainees are asked to talk for about ten minutes in the simulated sessions. Trainees playing the client role are asked to raise an issue from their own life in order to enhance involvement. Trainees in the counsellor's role are asked to generate some tentative directions for problem solving within the ten minutes. In the next step, participants are asked to view the simulated counselling sessions on an individual basis in order to get over any issues of "personal vanity." A trainee is unlikely to appreciate subsequent exploration of nonverbal issues if they are wrapped up in a personal reaction to themselves on screen. Wilmer (1967) makes this point clearly when he states:

> Video taping is stressful for the patient, but more so for the therapist. Mistakes of any kind are indelibly recorded. Jargon or cliches, "canned lectures," lack of spontaneity and disguised feelings are revealed. The effect of seeing one's errors in the presence of others is shattering . . .

One can see from Wilmer's observations the merit of initially viewing our failings on a solitary basis.

After private viewings of simulated sessions, trainees are brought together in a group to discuss each taped interview. Trainees are encouraged to explore three issues:

a) how each trainee felt in their given role and how this correlated to their portrayals;

b) what each "actor" saw as helpful, hindering or revealing in the nonverbal actions of the other partner in the interview;

c) what the group of trainees, seeing these tapes for a second time, has deemed the important issues of each interview.

Comments from trainees in the three different roles clearly indicate enhanced nonverbal awareness in this exercise. Thus, a common observation from a trainee in the counsellor role is "I was too wrapped up in being a counsellor, seeing myself on tape; I really notice how uptight (remote, artificial, nervous, etc.) I was." One comment frequently heard from trainees in the client role is "I look phony, protecting myself, not really being honest about my problem. Now I know what it is to be a scared client." There is an obvious link between this form of nonverbal exposure and empathic training. Trainees on camera duty may pass comments such as "I kept trying to capture your annoying habit of rocking your foot. Why were you doing that?" Trainees frequently pass comments about one another, for example, "It really irritated me as a client when you kept looking at your watch, playing with your nails; it gave me the impression you did not have time for me." Finally, comments from the group as a whole can be instructive. For example, one might hear in general group discussion: "It appears as if the two of you had an implicit pact to go easy on each other, not get too personal."

It is quite easy to integrate transcultural therapy issues into this stage of training. Some examples might help the reader. Depending on the resources one has among trainees in terms of ethnic background, simulated sessions might permit increased awareness of a wide range of "display rules" (Ekman 1973) for nonverbal expression across various cultures. Thus, one can demonstrate the reduced personal space and increased touching behavior seen in Hispanic cultures. One could be brought to awareness that tittering laughter and covering one's face with the hand is seen in Phillipine society not as a sign of immaturity or disrespect, but rather anxiety. Individuals from traditional South Asian cultures may show poor eye contact – not to be evasive, but as a sign of deference to authority. The cultural displays emphasized will depend both upon the resources in the training group and the relative density of a given ethnic group in the trainees' counselling setting.

The issue of the counselling setting itself is a convenient place for the discussion of the last stage of training. In this stage, trainees are required to videotape one of their actual therapy sessions. Although simulated counselling interviews such as those outlined above provide real opportunities for nonverbal sensitizing, they do not replace the actual session. Previous training sessions employing video recordings of actual counselling sessions usually see trainees discussing the more verbal, cognitive elements of the session with other clinicians, while exploring the nonverbal implications of a given tape in a separate session with the author. On occasion, a group of trainees may meet *en masse* to consider some genuine rather than simulated counselling material. Discussion of therapist-generated nonverbal cues includes those actions that can either help or hurt the counselling enterprise. Thus LaCrosse (1975), Lee, Zingle, Patterson, Ivey and Haase (1976), Barak, Patkin and Dell (1982) all make reference to certain nonverbal behaviors to avoid (e.g., poor eye contact, distracted mannerisms, flat facial expression). Similarly, trainees have a chance to match their own performances against nonverbal actions reported to enhance counsellor attractiveness (e.g., concerned facial expression, attentive forward lean, good eye contact, etc.). The importance of nonverbal behavior being in concert with a therapist's verbal output can be underlined in this stage of training. Graves and Robinson (1976) and Hill, Siegelman, Gronsky, Sturniolo and Fretz (1981) clearly indicated how counsellor credibility, persuasiveness and attractiveness are all severely damaged by verbal-nonverbal incongruity.

Also examined in this exercise are client-generated nonverbal cues that provide information about the client's current adjustment. Hence, the concern is for investigating the characteristic nonverbal cues of, say, anxiety and depression. The video review of the actual therapy sessions may likewise give evidence of a client's fear, anger, resistance or confusion; training at this point would consist of identifying such signs and relating them to the pertinent content in the therapy session.

One situation where this form of nonverbal analysis has proven very instructive is in the consideration of cross-cultural counselling sessions. Frequently, trainees with little clinical exposure will not do very well in assessing the current adjustment of someone with a different ethnic background. Thus a Korean client may, to North American perceptions, appear to be much less expressive of any emotion, while someone of an Italian background may show what appears to be an effusive display of emotionality until re-evaluated within the context of display rules appropriate to the culture. Nonverbal training in this area involves the very critical sensitizing of trainees to the varying styles or levels of demonstrativeness seen in different cultures to provide a base line against which the individual client can be more accurately assessed. In the past, there have been occasions where nonverbal sensitizing has focused specifically on the impact of cultural display rules in the counselling context. In brief, this specific approach is outlined below.

Nonverbal sensitizing in the cross-cultural context

Training directed specifically at increasing awareness of culturally keyed nonverbal behaviors adopts Ivey's (1981) theoretical posture. Briefly, this position suggests that interpretation of behavior cross-culturally should be filtered through three successively finer screens of relevant information:

a) the client's culture,
b) the presenting situation as defined by the client's culture,
c) the client as an individual.

In training sessions having this focus, trainees are initially asked to engage in the "stereotypes game," enjoined to discuss as many stereotyped perceptions of a given ethnic group, both positive and negative, as they may know. Thus, Italians may be perceived as a group to be "melodramatic," "over-affusive," and to "talk with their hands." Chinese and Vietnamese may be perceived with the usual Western biases as "emotionless," "shut-down," "stone-faced." Jamaicans may "stare at you." Syrians may "stand on top of you" when conversing. The next step in this process is to indicate that some of these stereotyped perceptions possess a grain of truth. It is left to the reader, in light of the information sources available in this text alone, as to which comments possess some empirical support and the conditions associated with this support. Such a mental exercise might economically convey the process of education for trainees on this issue that permits some level of meaningful discrimination of cultural background in a given client's case. Closely linked with this discussion of cultural forms of nonverbal expressiveness is a consideration of the client's presenting situation. Thus, Ekman's (1973) concept of culturally defined "display rules" functions as an essential variable in the interpretation of nonverbal behavior at this juncture. For example, a Chinese client may appear to be evasive, resistant or hostile in a group therapy session but in fact is observing the Asian display rules discouraging expression of extreme emotionality or sentiment in public settings. Most conservative Iranian males will not discuss personal issues in the presence of women they do not know; resistance in this situation should not be given a pathological interpretation. Acquaintance with the conversation conventions for Southern Italians may indicate that a given client exceeds the usual level of expressiveness and can be viewed as manic in behavior display.

As a final step in this form of training, trainees are encouraged to develop clinical impressions of the culturally-different client as an individual. No one is exclusively directed by cultural norms. Although a client may possess a given cultural background, this culture may no longer exert any meaningful influence on the client. At a more complex level, a client may show influence of both mother and host culture. Information and knowledge about a client's culture, its display rules and the client himself can be put up as successive templates for clinical evaluation of the client. If one of these templates does not fit, it can be discarded, and the counsellor can give a greater weight to other factors.

Although the description of this one instance of the sensitizing program has been brief, it is hoped that the reader can appreciate the general rationale behind the approach and see possible connections to their professional needs.

Training for Nonverbal Sensitivity: 2

The second training approach was devised by the first author in the context of two required courses for the masters of education degree with a specialization in multicultural studies. The purpose of the specialization degree devised by the first author in the Department of Applied Psychology, at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, was to help train and prepare individuals intending to operate primarily in a multicultural school or community setting. The academic and practical training is multidisciplinary and interdepartmental. The nonverbal behavior units were designed in the context of two required courses: The Psychological Aspects of Teaching and Counselling New Canadians, which is taught first and then followed by the Research Seminar in Multicultural Studies. Students in these courses have varied backgrounds ranging from ESL teachers, counsellors, teachers in general, government workers, social workers, those working in psychiatric centres, nurses, students in sociology, higher education and curriculum. Usually about 35–40% of the students in these classes were born outside of Canada.

One of the main objectives of the first course is to help sensitize and make students aware of certain aspects of their cultural values and nonverbal behavior as well as those of others from different cultural backgrounds, and to look at their potential psychological impact. One of the two textbooks is entitled *Nonverbal Behavior: Perspectives, Applications and Intercultural Insights* (Wolfgang, 1984). The text deals primarily with nonverbal behavior in teaching, counselling and therapy with general as well as intercultural perspectives. About 20–25% of class time (8–9 hours) is taken up dealing with nonverbal behavior and its relationship to culture, language and values. This is done mainly by lectures, class projects, structured exercises and readings. For instance, students are asked to practice their listening skills by interviewing one another for five minutes, without taking notes. The instructor observes and gives feedback on how they used their nonverbal behavior. By asking the students to suddenly freeze their body positions, the instructor can comment on the interpersonal space they kept from each other (e.g., close-far), body posture (e.g., open-closed) and facial expression (e.g., happy, neutral, sad, etc.). The instructor then discusses the nonverbal behaviors of each dyad. The so-called positive or desirable nonverbal behaviors are framed in the word SOFTENS to help make a good first impression: S = smile, it makes the client feel at ease; O = open, keep arms open and the body relaxed – it makes the client feel open and relaxed; F = forward, lean forward when interacting with the client – it shows interest in what the client is saying; T = touch, caution – some people feel uncomfortable when touched by strangers, for others it is fine if done in moderation; E = eye contact, good eye contact is essential for good rapport – these procedures show the client you are attentive to what is being said; N = nod, head nods show you understand what is being said and that you are listening; S = speech, don't speak too fast and try to use positive warm tones of speech.

After discussing the degree to which SOFTENS was practiced by the students, we then discuss the cultural implications. Is practicing SOFTENS good for establishing rapport with people of all cultures? Examples are given of complications where SOFTENS was practiced in a role-playing situation with a Latin and Indian woman. For the Latin woman the counsellor should have more touch behavior and more active smiles and body movements; for the young Indian women from New Delhi, the counsellor kept eye contact too long. Indian women were taught to avoid eye contact with authority figures, particularly males. Touching an Indian woman would be inappropriate for a male counsellor, particularly if he were a peer. From this exercise we discuss the concepts proposed by Montagu (1971) and Hall (1976) on the differences between the nonverbal behaviors of people from polychronic-contact (e.g., Latins, Arabs, Southern Italians, etc.) and monochronic-noncontact (e.g., English Canadians, Americans, Japanese, etc.) cultures. For instance, a polychronic-contact person could be characterized as one who prefers closer distances, more body movement (gestures), and is less time-oriented than those from monochronic-noncontact cultures. From these cultural orientations, it is pointed out that noncontact-monochronic-oriented people may be stereotyped as being "cold," "distant" and a slave to the clock, whereas the polychronic-contact-oriented people may be stereotyped as too "emotional," "pushy" and "unreliable" in terms of time. The students are encouraged to find concrete ways to get in touch with both their culture and nonverbal behavior and to introduce concrete examples of how this may be accomplished.

Students are given an opportunity of practicing their decoding skills. The first author has developed an Interracial and Intergender Face Recognition Test (Wolfgang, 1980a). The students are shown slides of the fundamental emotions (e.g., anger, happiness, sadness, interest, etc.) that are supposed to be universal at different exposure levels. Invariably, white Canadian born students make more errors in judging the facial expressions of black West Indians than on the white faces of Canadian born people. From this exercise, we discuss some of the reasons why less sensitivity is shown in decoding the emotions displayed on these faces. For instance, perhaps people from the dominant white culture, who are in a generally more powerful position in the culture, may have less need to sensitive in comparison to those of the ethnic minority groups, whose advancement in jobs and school depends on being able to read nonverbal cues accurately. The findings of the author's research is discussed and its implications for teaching and counselling new Canadians.

Students are cautioned to take an experimental attitude in trying so-called positive nonverbal behaviors. These may not work with people from different cultural backgrounds. They are encouraged to note which nonverbal behaviors are positively received and which are not. They are told that there are no recipes available, and that they may have to practice KIS. That is, *K*nowledge itself about a culture and its nonverbal expressions is not enough. Competent intercultural counsellors and teachers must also learn to trust their *I*ntuition of what works and be creative in establishing rapport by being a keen observer of the clients and their own behavior and note the degree of congruence or incongruence or incongruence in the encounter. Specific *S*kills can then be learned and practiced when knowledge and intuitions are in balance.

The students are encouraged to try to observe and visualize the concepts discussed, illustrated and role played in the classroom in natural live situations. In addition to structured exercises in class, the students do interviews with new Canadians in the field. They are encouraged to conduct the interviews in the new Canadians' territory, preferably the home. The students are told to observe the nonverbal greeting and parting behavior and to ask questions about special problems new Canadians have had regarding nonverbal behavior in Canada (e.g., time schedules, conversational distances, body movements, etc.).

Films on nonverbal behavior are shown to provide live instances of behaviors used by those in the helping professions, for example, teachers. One, for instance, is called *Body Language in the Classroom* produced by Wolfgang (1975b) which shows the nonverbal styles of teaching students (e.g., Italian style) gestures used by Italian students that could be misconstrued by the teacher. An audio-visual production produced by Wolfgang (1980b) called *The West Indian Student – A Long Way from Home* is shown to demonstrate how West Indians express their nonverbal behavior in different contexts. For instance, West Indians seem to show more contact behavior toward each other than do white Canadian born students and turn their eyes away from authority figures rather than look them in the eye (Wolfgang, 1979).

The students are cautioned that nonverbal behavior to be interpreted properly must be seen in some social context. This prevents students from overgeneralizing the meaning of nonverbal behavior. Also, the students are cautioned not to assume that because someone is from a contact culture that they will necessarily show contact behavior. Nonverbal behavior can vary as a function of age, sex, personality, social class and biological factors. The idea is that you cannot lump people into nice neat cultural nonverbal packages.

In the major term paper for the course the students can prepare a manual or guide to help novice teachers or counsellors better understand members of a particular ethnic minority group. As part of this assignment students are asked to focus not only on the cultural background, sex roles, likely areas of value conflicts, psychological adjustment problems, but also on the nonverbal behavior of the group (e.g., attitudes toward time, touching, showing emotions publicly, gesturing, etc.).

As an alternative, students can prepare a survival kit to help ease the psychological transition of new Canadians. As part of this assignment students are asked to prepare the new Canadian for the nonverbal behaviors that might confuse, amuse or annoy him/her. Another alternative involving nonverbal behavior is to write on the topic of "What is the function and potential impact of nonverbal behavior in counselling or teaching new Canadians."

In sum, in this course students are sensitized and made aware of nonverbal behavior by classroom exercises, field work, films, and reading and writing about nonverbal behavior.

The next course, Research Seminar in Multicultural Studies, involves a similar formula for learning about nonverbal behavior as the previous course except that the students do more rigorous field work on nonverbal behavior and actually conduct research and learn to use the ethnographic approach to research (Spradley, 1979, 1980). In this course, the students are asked to do a portrait of their family or that of a friend. The nonverbal aspect of this assignment is to describe the nonverbal behavior of the family (e.g., attitudes toward time, use of space, touching behavior, etc.) by describing the family's nonverbal behavior, and it is anticipated that the students will gain insight into their own nonverbal styles of behavior and can see which ones they are modelling.

In another assignment on nonverbal behavior, students do an experiment or observational study on how space and time are used. They can compare two cultural groups on such things as greeting behavior, attitudes toward time, touching, display of emotions, use of space and gesturing. They must state a hypothesis, the method used for observations, how results were gathered (descriptive), and discuss and explain the findings. They are given a list of nonverbal behaviors to observe and possible ways of observing them (e.g., touch – how, where and with what force are the bodies connecting; interpersonal distance – how far are people from one another; posture – how people stand, sit, lean, etc.). One student went to the Toronto airport and did a photographic study of how people from contact and noncontact cultures greet one another, postures while waiting, interpersonal closeness and so forth. She found differences in waiting behavior: Canadians lean more against objects, let children wander more, and touch them less than people from more contact cultures (e.g., Southern Europe). Also, Canadians showed more restraint in greeting, prefering handshakes and upper-body embraces than the whole body hugging demonstrated by contact-oriented groups.

In another assignment, students are asked to describe a typical day in their lives in terms of how their time and space is used. They start by describing their day from the time they wake up until they go to sleep. This makes the students aware of how they use their time, the activities they do in those time periods (e.g., eating habits, etc.) and the social activities that are carried out in their physical and personal space. The cultural implications are then discussed from a cross-cultural perspective. For those who are in counselling, it is suggested that they may ask their immigrant clients to describe their typical day so they can develop a sensitivity to the cultural background of their clients and how their clients use certain nonverbal behaviors in specific situations. This helps the counsellor develop a more holistic view of their clients.

The final assignment requires that the students do a literature review of a topic of interest regarding a particular ethnic minority group. The students are asked to describe some specific cultural and psychological variables that would impede or facilitate intercultural communication between themselves and members of a particular ethnic minority group. The students are asked to use their imagination and cognitive skills to generate ways to overcome barriers to intercultural communication. The role of nonverbal behavior in intercultural communication is discussed in the above framework. The textbooks (Spradley, 1979, 1980) are useful in that they give a framework for fieldwork using the method of participant observations. To use this method you don't need a background in the social sciences. The author gives step-by-step instructions on how to use the ethnographic approach when applied to describing different cultures and different nonverbal behaviors in a descriptive, qualitative and meaningful way. It helps the student provide a framework for observing nonverbal behavior *in vivo*. During the term, cultural leaders from the class volunteer to take the class to a particular ethnic area. Each member of the class is responsible for a descriptive observational analysis of the different aspects of that culture. For instance, one member reports on sex roles, another on food, nonverbal behavior or cultural artifacts. This helps the students apply the concepts discussed in class and in their readings in a naturalistic situation.

Some of the limitations in training students to be sensitive to the nonverbal behavior and cultures of others is that it is carried out primarily in a classroom context with relatively short excursions into different ethnocultural situations. The training aspect could be augmented by having a practicum whereby students could meet with actual ethnic minority clients to help them solve their problems. Occasional videotape recordings could be made and played back to the supervisor for comment. Unfortunately, there are not many supervisors or trainers that specialize in intercultural counselling.

Conclusion and Future Needs

We have made a case for the importance of nonverbal behavior in intercultural communication and counselling and have described two approaches for training intercultural counsellors to enhance their sensitivity to nonverbal behavior. Furthermore, we have described the limitations of our approaches and suggest some methods for improvement.

For the future we need to find ways to reduce the dropout rates of our clients. Sue (1977) reports that 50% of the ethnic minority clients do not return to the counsellor after the first session. This certainly reflects the inadequate rapport established between the counsellor and client on their first encounter and underscores the need for more and better training for intercultural counsellors. To do adequate training, we need adequate research to tell us what variables are important. For instance, what nonverbal behaviors are universally acceptable, are culturally determined, and how do they operate in the counselling situation? Until we have more extensive research in this area, we will have to rely to some extent on our insights and intuition to carry out a satisfactory training program.

To date, there is no empirical validation as to the effectiveness of the programs sketched out above; the future holds the potential for strengthening and confirming the utility of this approach. As discussed elsewhere (Waxer, 1984), programs such as this provide a good basis for data-based theory and research where actual ongoing training provides the subject matter for stringent tests of effectiveness which can, it is hoped, one day contribute to an integrated theory for cross-cultural counselling.

We need more researchers and trainers from ethnic minority groups as well as from the white middle-class culture. Future trainers must take a more holistic view and realize the importance of the silent but ever powerful language of nonverbal behavior in the total communication process. If this is accepted as true, and if training in awareness and sensitivity to nonverbal behavior is implemented for counsellors, then perhaps the dropout rates of ethnic minority clients could be greatly reduced.

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A Training Model for Implementing Non-Biased Assessment Procedures

Raymond T. Chodzinski and Ronald J. Samuda

Issues and concerns related to the assessment and evaluation of minority group children continue to be debated in the literature (D'Oyley, 1983; Kelly, 1982; Labov, 1971; Lambert, 1981; McClelland, 1973; Mercer, 1971; Rosenbauch, 1981; Samuda & Tinglin, 1978; Mishra, 1982). Essentially, arguments focus on various aspects of one fundamental question; is non-biased assessment actually possible? Anastasi (1968) once wrote, "It is futile to devise a test that is free from cultural influences." Despite this prediction, researchers have continued to search for methods of reducing the effects of cultural factors on test performance (Chapman & Carter, 1979; Green, 1972; Williams, 1971). For some, the easiest method would simply be not to test at all. However, since we live in a world that is increasing its dependancy on feedback, accountability and a back-to-basic approach to learning and achievement, the argument, while perhaps attractive and in many respects logical, is highly impractical.

In view of the mounting evidence supporting the need for a cautious approach to the assessment of minority group children, some school boards have at least modified or adopted new policies with respect to the assessment of minorities. It is apparent, however, that the demand for testing services continues to rise (Samuda & Crawford, 1980) With the large increases in minority group children attending school, it is likely that this trend will continue, and with it difficulties associated with assessment and evaluation of atypical children will also increase.

Raymond T. Chodzinski, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Guidance and Counselling in the College of Education at Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada.
Ronald J. Samuda, Ph.D., is Professor in the Area of Psychology and Philosophy at the Faculty of Education of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.

In Toronto, for example, well over 70 ethnic groups or sub-groups, and as many different language groups, are represented in the public schools. The demographic transformation of the Toronto school system is not unlike that of many other large cities in Canada. In fact, as we have witnessed in such cities as Miami, London and Sydney, demographic transformation is an international reality. The cross-cultural mix, which constitutes the world population and therefore a large segment of the school population, serves to underscore the need for educators to focus their attention on the issues and concerns related to the assessment of minority or culturally atypical children. There is an obvious need to implement methods which will reduce cultural disadvantages on measures of ability, aptitude and attitude so that students are afforded both equal opportunities with respect to programming and individualized instruction.

Issues & Concerns

Twenty years ago, Fishman, Deutsch, Rogan, North and Whiteman (1964) published a paper "Guidelines for Testing Minority Group Children." The authors presented a case for non-biased assessment methods and reviewed the possible causes of test bias and the resultant potential for discriminatory practices with respect to evaluation and interpretation of test scores. A decade later, Samuda (1975) investigated the state of the art with respect to the psychological testing of American minorities. Similar to Fishman et al. (1964), Samuda identified dimensions of difficulty in assessing ethnic minority students. Four categories were established: test construction bias, administration techniques and strategies, environmental press and, perhaps most important of all the evaluation, interpretation and reporting of test results.

Acknowledging the research up until 1975, Samuda anticipated possible trends and emerging alternatives. These included a perceived need to train test users in non-biased assessment methods in order to ensure that test scores are properly obtained and interpreted; a need to educate teachers, counsellors and test users about the issues and concerns related to the use and misuse of tests with minority group children; a more sensitive approach by educators to the socio-cultural influences that create potential difficulties; a need for researchers to adopt an increased interest in the area of environmental factors that influence and direct learning; a need to focus on the relevancy of a pluralistic interpretation of test results and the development of norms which are more reflective of culture and environment; a need for the development of new measures that take into account the language and cultural vernacular of minority or atypical children; and the need for an increase in emphasis on description and prescription techniques and strategies rather than on the more popular selection and prediction procedures which were in vogue at the time.

This futuristic outlook was based on the assumption that early criticisms about the use of tests with minority group children (see Anastasi, 1968; Black, 1963; Mercer, 1971; Rosen, 1959; Williams, 1971) would generate enthusiasm on the part of educators and researchers to investigate ways of reducing test bias and to develop strategies for non-biased assessment. A review of that literature and of the current arguments demonstrate that many of the criticisms remain essentially the same. For instance, the literature suggests that standardized tests are essentially unfair and biased toward different cultural and socio-economic groups. Interpretation and evaluation of scores tend to reflect differences with respect to the primarily WASP culture on which test questions are based. Furthermore, it is argued that differences result in over enrollment in special education and alternate learning centres (Coleman, 1966; Dunn, 1968; Semmel, Gottlieb & Robinson, 1979; Samuda, 1975). It has been shown that on the basis of wrongly evaluated test scores an unusually high proportion of minority or culturally atypical children are considered and eventually labelled as E.M.R., T.M.R.* or Special Learning Problem Children (Cummins, 1981; MacMillan & Meyers, 1979; Mercer, 1971; Samuda, 1975). Writers such as Bersoff (1982) and Lambert (1981) demonstrate that the controversy over differences in intelligence as a result of culture or race (see Cronbach, 1975; Jensen, 1969; Lorge, 1966) is still a highly sensitive issue.

In essence, we can see that the thrust of the criticisms demonstrate that traditional approaches to the assessment of minority group children tend to stress differences as deficiencies, thereby effectively reducing expectations with respect to the qualitative nature and potential of the individual. Rather than enhancing the opportunity for equal educative experiences, traditional testing practices have debilitated and restricted opportunities.

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* Educable Mentally Retarded; Trainable Mentally Retarded.

Trends and Alternatives

In addition to the critical literature, research demonstrates that there is progress. It is evident that there exists a public and political pressure to respond to the issues and to initiate change with respect to policies affecting assessment of minority children. Emphasis on the need to change administrative techniques and the development of creative strategies has received wide acceptance. Standardized tests are being translated into different language editions. Test constructors are creating culture-specific item pool banks (Green, 1972). Culture-specific tests such as the "Chitlin," the B.I.T.C.H.* and the Entchalada are available (Samuda, 1975; Williams, 1971). Although it is recognized that direct translation of test questions without taking into account cultural differences does not necessarily alleviate the problem of bias or that simply producing a culture-specific test, i.e., culture-related questions, alleviates cultural bias (Berry, 1969), it must be stated that both alternatives move us one step closer to facilitating a more equitable assessment approach (Chodzinski, 1982).

Jane Mercer's (1971) pluralistic model of assessment suggests that socio-cultural characteristics and environmental press factors constitute grounds for developing culture-specific group norms and weighting factors. Her approach offers an attractive alternative. However, as Samuda (1981) writes, the problems of matching instructional objectives with educational needs still needs to be addressed.

An exciting approach and one that holds future promise is the shift away from standardized norm-referenced testing to criterion and specific diagnostic measures (Cleary, 1968; Chodzinski, 1983; Darlington, 1971; Mann, 1977; Oakland & Phillips, 1973; Samuda, 1980). Defined in terms of minimal competency tests, educators can now focus on mastery learning and performance-based competency objectives. Instead of comparing individual and group differences, individual performance and potential is stressed. Competency-based assessment utilizes both formal and informal instruments and caters to individual learning styles. Diagnostic assessment promotes prescriptive programming and individualized instructional objectives. Again, there are limitations. Less concrete criteria create assessment difficulties. Attitude and personality inventiories are difficult to interpret in terms of mastering specific skills.

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* Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity.

Mercer and Ysseldyke (1977) speak to an intervention model which proposes that non-biased assessment and evaluation can be attained by utilizing a cluster of five intervention strategies or models. Called the ABCD system (see Cromwell, Blashford & Strauss, 1975), any combination of the medical model, social system or deviance model, psychoeducational process model, task analysis model or pluralistic model can be used to produce a series of ABDC type relationships that are not racially or culturally discriminatory. The obvious premise of this approach is that assessment must be conducted in a contextual fashion, and that all aspects of an individual's life style must be evaluated prior to interpreting any performance on measures of ability, intelligence or personal traits.

In terms of specific tips or strategies to reduce general bias a few practical solutions, though not always valid from a test constructors point of view, can be suggested. For example, the use of bilingual or multilingual test administrators can increase response performance. Although allowing minority students (particularly those whose mother tongue is not English) more time to answer questions violates the rules of validity and reliability, it often provides pupils with an opportunity to express their actual performance capability. Explanation of terms that ordinarily would be understood by majority group children will enhance the chance for success on a given item. Often it is the question that is not understood, not the answer. Changing pictures, cue cards, manipulative objects, picture puzzles and certain verbal expressions to culturally relevant and familiar representations should not necessarily alter the validity of the test, providing that the conceptual framework has not been adjusted. Awareness of differences in personal space requirements, values and customs is helpful in interpreting responses. Sensitivity toward an individual's non verbal behaviour and cultural style will be beneficial in interpreting test performance and behaviour. More importantly, it will help test users to retrench from the tendancy to stereotype behaviours in terms of culture and ethnicity. Access to biographical data can be important. In terms of curriculum planning and individualized instruction, awareness and maintenance of accurate school records is essential. Knowing what has not been covered can often be more important than knowing what has been taught. Test administrators and users would do well to examine their own beliefs and biases with respect to testing of culturally different children. Pre-conceived ideas and biases can significantly affect not only the climate for successful test administration but can affect the response style, scoring and interpreting of the results.

Instructional Strategy Proposal

It is apparent from the literature that new trends and alternatives are forthcoming. Unfortunately, as Samuda et al. (1980) observed, journal articles are not readily translated into techniques and strategies. Even though boards of education print policy statements and express politically sensitive decrees, the reality of the situation is that education is slow to change. What is needed now is a strategy for educating teachers, counsellors, board officials and parents about the new directions. More importantly, there is a need to instruct practitioners in the use and implementation of non-biased assessment procedures.

We propose an instructional component which can be adapted to meet the needs of three specific target groups: pre-service teacher candidates; graduate students in education, assessment or psychology; field practitioners such as counsellors, teachers, psychometricians and school psychologists. Essentially, we are talking about an instructional strategy which can be delivered in the form of undergraduate or graduate courses or programs, workshops, seminars, and specific in-service consultation activities (Table 1). The core programme which can be adapted according to the needs and sophistication of the target audience consists of seven general units and several options. The model utilizes direct instruction, self-learning and home-study programming, field observation and practicum experiences.

Table 1

Instructional Model

Overview: Strategies for Non-Biased Assessment

a) Historical antecedants: Issues and concerns related to non-biased assessment of minorities
b) Basic statistics and test terminology
c) Current assessment and evaluation techniques
d) Specific issues related to cultural and ethnic differences: Alternatives and proposals
e) Personal development and growth
f) Practicum and field observation
g) Research project – Home study – Follow-up

Options

1) Issues and concerns for school guidance counsellors
2) Issues and concerns for special education
3) Issues and concerns for classroom teachers

Table 2

General Outline of Units

1) *Historical Antecedants: Issues and Concerns Related to Non-Biased Assessment of Minorities*
    - a) Definition of non-biased assessment
    - b) Historical and political influences
    - c) Racism, discrimination, traditional biases, ethics
    - d) Theories of learning and intelligence: cultural perspective
    - e) Legal ramifications of improper assessment – case study
    - f) Influence of demographic changes: New challenges
    - g) Review of current policies, documents

2) *Basic Statistics and Test Terminology*
    - a) Overview of test construction: theory and techniques
    - b) Glossary of terms: Definition of types of tests
    - c) Measures of central tendancy, deviation, variability, correlation
    - d) Reliability – validity
    - e) Interpreting test scores – standard scores – charts – tables.
    - f) Technical and instructors manual literacy course.
    - g) Evaluation of tests for suitability

3) *Current Assessment and Evaluation Techniques*
    - a) Group assessment procedures: standardized tests (NRT) (CRT)
    - b) Referral systems and procedures: IPRC – IEP, Bill 82, TAT
    - c) Common test batteries
    - d) Administration techniques: – rapport, questioning, response, control
    - e) Report writing: Ethics, programming, instructional objectives
    - f) Consultation and follow up: Skills – case load management
    - g) System analysis: In-house evaluation procedures – review methods
    - h) Hands on component: Using tests

4) *Specific Issues Related to Cultural and Ethnic Differences, Non-Biased Assessment: Techniques and Strategies*
    - a) Overview of the State of the art
    - b) Alternate models: e.g., pluralistic/prescriptive vs. descriptive/ABCD
    - c) Non-biased assessment instruments and adaptations
    - d) Specialized techniques and strategies: Rapport building, alieviating stress
    - e) Prescriptive programming for individualized instruction
    - f) Report writing and case load management
    - g) Culture awareness: Native peoples, third world, ethnic mix

5) *Personal Development and Growth*
    - a) Self-analysis regarding beliefs – attitudes, perceptions
    - b) Experimental community relations/cultural awareness

Continued Table 2

- c) Group interaction and dynamics
- d) Personal plan

6) *Practicum and Field Observations*

- a) School visits and field placements
- b) Practice: administration of tests – group/individual
- c) Practice: report writing, programming, evaluation, follow-up
- d) Practice: techniques, approaches
- e) Practice: consultative skills, referral, case management

7) *Research Project – Home Study – Follow-Up*

- a) Develop an ongoing supervised research proposal
- b) Establish a target clientele
- c) Field experience
- d) Evaluation and report
- e) Proposal for self-administered home study unit

Table 3

Options

1) *Issues and Concerns for Schools Counsellors: Non-Biased Assessment*

- a) Career and vocational issues: Aspirations, decision making, aptitudes, vocational maturity
- b) Self-report inventories: Self-concept/self-esteem, attitudes, values
- c) Behaviour management: Personality, locus of control, self-concept
- d) Counselling & guidance: Questioning, responding, attending, referral
- e) Community liaison and referral: Agencies – support networks
- f) College entrance, educational/vocational planning

2) *Issues and Concerns for Special Education*

- a) Diagnostic assessment strategies: Theory – dimensions
- b) Instructional objectives: planning, goal setting, evaluation
- c) Test evaluation and selection of instruments
- d) Diagnostic report writing
- e) Consultative skills / case load management
- f) Placement review and evaluation

3) *Issues and Concerns for Classroom Teachers*

- a) Preparing better teacher made tests
- b) Evaluating for learning
- c) Understanding specialized report – cutting through the jargon
- d) Reducing cultural bias in learning materials and instruction
- e) Utilizing differences; postive imaging

We believe it is incumbent upon universities, school boards, government bodies and professional organizations to initiate leadership in providing the availability of special training in the area of nonbiased assessment. It is imperative that regardless of genetic endowment, sociocultural difference, country of origin, or economic disadvantage, children should be provided with equal opportunities to maximize learning potential. With respect to assessment and evaluation there are strategies and techniques available which can help alleviate some of the biases known to be discriminatory against minority or culturally different children.*

We do not suggest that testing be eliminated, or that all testing is harmful. As well, we do not take the stand that all biases can be eliminated. What we do believe is that there is an ethical and moral responsibility to try eliminate discrimination where and whenever possible. Assessment can be a productive tool of education only as long as it serves as its first master the needs of the student. Assessment and evaluation must focus on the strength and assets of the child and account for any differences not as deficiencies but as qualities of uniqueness and individuality that are representative of the diversity of culture and of what being human actually means.

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* Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the proposed outline for each unit; Table 3 explains the option units.

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Increasing the Effectiveness of School Counselling: A Multicultural Perspective

Raymond T. Chodzinski

It is no revelation that Canada's ethnic minority population has increased rapidly over the past decade. It is also not surprising that the majority of the recent arrivals represent peoples from Third World countries. Individuals who seek refuge, safety and a chance to begin a new life without fear of political oppression constitute the majority of our new citizenry. Canada, as a host nation, is philosophically and legally committed to a multicultural policy which ensures individual human rights and freedom. Above all, the Federal Government attempts to preserve the dignity of each individual through assurances that cultural diversity is welcome (Fleming, 1980).

This recent wave of New Canadians has changed the social fabric of our nation. We have been introduced to a multitude of new languages, customs and values. Differences in cultural background illuminate differences in perceptions, aspirations, values, ethics and social conduct. So-called majority group citizens are now forced to confront their own biases and prejudices. Unfortunately, although Canada philosophically promotes an open arm of receptivity, it appears that many of its citizens are not as deeply committed to the policy as should be expected (Fleming, 1983).

This lack of commitment has been defined in terms of hinderances to structural, institutional and cultural pluralism (Mallea, 1984; Porter, 1965). Despite attempts by some leaders to establish and reinforce guidelines for effective multicultural policies, there is a growing aware-

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Raymond T. Chodzinski, Ph.D. is Associate Professor of Guidance and Counselling in the College of Education at Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada.

ness that a strong ethnocentric attitude exists (Samuda, 1983). Evidence shows that a somewhat sectarian disposition exists within the educational system (Samuda & Crawford, 1980). Although it is clear that there is continued active political pressure to encourage sensitivity toward cultural pluralism (Burke, 1984), it is known that dissention among the ranks of administrators, trustees, teacher and parent groups contributes to a general lack of support. And, while many would argue that the climate for acceptance and understanding of cultural pluralism at all levels has indeed been increased, the reality is that gains are only marginal. A growing variety of barriers continue to block the path of progress. This is particularly relevant to school counselling (Belkin, 1980; Pederson, Draguns, Lonner & Trimble, 1981; Samuda & Crawford, 1980). Unfortunately, well-intentioned school counsellors are often handicapped from the start. They are barraged by the responsibilities inherent to the position and thwarted by the lack of training, support and resources. As first line helpers, school counsellors have the opportunity to enhance the levels of acceptance and understanding within their own school communities. What is needed, however, is a revision in the traditional model of counsellor training and a commitment by administrators to support school counsellors in the delivery of services to minority and culturally different clients.

Changing the Model: Counsellor Skills

Most counsellor training programs in Canada do not provide adequate educative experiences with respect to multicultural concerns. Although the traditional stress on acceptance, understanding, empathy and expressed awareness of individual uniqueness is maintained, little is done to help counsellors apply these skills within a multicultural framework. Some counsellor educators have suggested that the major problem facing counsellors is the lack of theoretical guidelines. Wolfgang (1975) writes: "Most if not all counselling theories assume that the counsellor and student are of the same cultural orientation."

Sue (1977) and Westwood (1983) agree that counsellors must become more aware and sensitive toward the needs and differences of culturally different clients. Samuda and Crawford (1980, p. 46) suggest that counsellors and teachers who are faced with challenges of working with people who are culturally different "must recognize the fact, be sensitive to such needs as unique to it and keep open many lines of communication."

It is becoming increasingly clear that counsellor educators must provide a concentrated effort to liberate what Wrenn (1962) and Johnston and Vestermark (1970) refer to as the encapsulated counsellor. We must avoid the situation whereby training becomes the inhibiting factor to counsellor effectiveness. Counsellors must not be encouraged to assume that their own dominant or majority group biases in counselling methodology can be generalized to other cultures. Failure in this regard will inevitably result in a furthering of insensitivity toward cultural diversity and multicultural issues.

Future school counsellor training programs must focus on developing the skills that have been identified as crucial to the success of counselling minority group students (Belkin, 1980; Chodzinski, 1979, 1984; Sue, 1981; Samuda, 1975; Wolfgang, 1984). Essentially, these can be defined in terms of the traditional services usually provided such as career guidance and vocational counselling, testing services, community involvement, school administration, educative counselling and information resources. However, the most important aspect of any new training model must be a component concerned with the development of personal self. Counsellor trainees must be encouraged to become introspective about their own values and beliefs. As well, they must be taught new skills for working with peoples from different cultures, backgrounds, values and traditions. In this regard Wilson and Calhoun (1974), for example, have shown that dialect can cause difficulties between counsellors and clients. Similarly, Samuda (1975) has shown that differences in English language usage can cause counsellors to misinterpret responses to test questions and therefore lower scores. Consequently, minority group students are often disadvantaged with respect to achieving satisfactory scores on tests such as IQ indicators, attitude or self-report scales, and career-related inventories. Wolfgang's (1980) research in counsellor training demonstrates the needs to stress differences in communication styles, nonverbal behaviours, body language and response behaviours. He has shown, for instance, that black West Indian students were more perceptive in interpreting facial expressions of white Anglo-Saxons than white Anglo-Saxons were of interpreting similar facial expressions of black West Indian students. The implications for counsellor trainees is simply that they must be taught to appreciate the importance of identifying and understanding the significance and value of culturally different expressive behaviours such as social distance, eye contact, recognition gestures and body movements. Most importantly, counsellors must be taught to interpret these behaviours within the context of the counselling relationship.

Traditional counsellor skills such as attending, questioning, responding and reflecting are on-going concerns but within a multi-cultural environment these skills take on an added importance (Sue & Sue, 1977). We must learn how to listen to the culturaly different client. We must also learn how to interpet the contextuality of the clients' behaviours as well as the words. Counsellor training courses can include sections on the customs and values of different cultures (Banks, 1973) and can provide practicum experiences that encourage interactions with students, parents and community leaders of culturally different groups. Counsellor trainees must be taught that the extent and depth of a client's level of self-disclosure is often highly related to cultural values and ethics. Confrontation techniques are not always appropriate. The style and structure of the counselling relationship must fit the traditions and cultural background of the client. Trainees must be sensitized to the effects of value conflicts, inherited racial biases, differences in expectations and client resistance. As well, school counsellors should be exposed to the politics of education. If they are to be effective at all, school counsellors must be encouraged to become active supporters of the principles and ideals related to the acceptance of cultural diversity within the educational community.

Barriers to Effective Delivery of Services

The school counsellor facilitates many services within the context of his position. As was stated earlier, these can be defined in terms of general administrative duties, educational testing, personal social counselling, vocational counselling, resource information and community service assistance. At times, these services are difficult to administer within the context of the dominant group's cultural setting. However, when counsellors attempt to provide these services to a predominantly mixed cultural clientele, difficulties will emerge (Elliston, 1977).

Much has been written about the structural and personal hinderances which are extremely difficult to modify and severely hamper the climate for social change (Belkin, 1980; Pederson et al., 1981). Aside from personal biases such as racism, bigotry and sterotypic attitudes, counsellors must often contend with the lack of educational support systems, the lack of community acceptance for cultural differences and community rejection of incoming resident minority groups. As well, there are often too few receptive teachers, inadequate intake procedures, language and social barriers, lack of social assistance funding, poor educative resources, a lack of information related to previous schooling and resistance to dominant culture life styles. Administratively, a counsellor's role can become quite frustrating.

Educational Measurement and Evaluation Strategies

Much has been written regarding the need to adopt a cautionary approach to the use of tests with minority group children (D'Oyley and Massey, 1983; Mann, 1977; Mercer, 1979; Sattler, 1974; Samuda, 1975). No doubt many school counsellors are aware of the inherent pitfalls and try to alleviate some of the difficulties. However, some guidelines are worth mentioning. Samuda (1975) has written that if and when tests are administered to minority group children they should be interpreted only within the context of a pluralistic socio-cultural perspective. It follows that counsellors should attempt to develop local norms which are appropriate for each cultural group. Administration, interpretation and prescription techniques should be developed on data from tests, which, if possible, are culture and language specific. Counsellors should avoid using standardized norm-referenced tests that do not provide information as to variation in sample groups, cultural biases inherent to the test and sufficient interpretive data. However, as DeAvila and Havassy (1974) and Samuda (1975) have written, even if standardized tests do meet the minimal requirement of reporting regional and ethnic norms, there is an inherent danger of using the norm to compare differences rather than to explain them.

The counsellor's testing program should promote competency testing, mastery learning and skill proficiency rather than intellectual assessment and consequent labelling. Accordingly, attitude and aptitude evaluation should be approached from the same perspective. Rather than normative assessment, individual assessment should hold to the objective of personal assistance and development rather than comparative analysis. The procedures and techniques should meet the needs and differences of each individual. Attempts should be made then to accomodate the language and cultural differences of the child. The availability of an interpreter, or better still a bilingual or multi-lingual counsellor or test administrator, would help to alleviate some of the stress related to test anxiety. Although converting or interpreting tests does not alleviate the inherent validity concerns, it does provide the student with an opportunity for greater understanding of the concepts being measured. As Berry (1969) has reported, testing in the students primary language can alleviate some of the difficulties, but questions which are value laden are inappropriate. If tests are to be used at all, results should be interpreted in general terms rather than specifics. Counsellors should attempt to discover the biases inherent to the test and take such biases into account when making diagnostic interpretations. Providing an opportunity for students to complete the test orally provides a more sensitive approach to testing culturally different clients. As well, time limits should be extended and opportunities for clarification should be arranged.

Since the objective of any testing program should be to promote the welfare of the client and to provide the opportunity for experiences that will maximize student potential, school counsellors must avoid test situations which are not conducive to these goals. Research demonstrates that students whose first language is not English, or who have not been acculturated within the dominant society, are likely to be disadvantaged with respect to test results. The bottom line is that lowered test results generally result in lower teacher expectations and therefore lower school performance. It is incumbent upon every school counsellor to alleviate this situation and still provide minority group students with opportunities that will ensure a realistic appraisal of their achievements and aptitudes.

Vocational Guidance and Personal Counselling Strategies

It has been shown that cultural background and ethnic group status can seriously effect career aspiration and vocational choice (Santigo & Feinburg, 1981). In addition, the effects of cultural racism on general performance, vocational decision and realization of selfhood have been clearly identified (Elliston, 1977; Levitan, 1980).

Counsellors must become sensitive to the career needs of culturally different students. It must be recognized that although career aspirations and personal needs may be expressed differently, minority students should have equal access to guidance and counselling resources.

Minority students should be exposed to a variety of vocational experiences and career development programs. Specific employment opportunities must be developed, and intervention strategies that promote vocational potential through skill development, workstudy programs, special training and community involvement should be initiated. School counsellors can become active agents within a community by encouraging local leaders of minority and cultural groups to become involved in outreach programs, liaison and twinning activities. School counsellors can encourage community leaders to establish peer counselling activities and to assist students in vocational decision making. Counsellors can enlist the aid of bilingual and bicultural volunteers, thereby alleviating some of the stress caused by language and culture differences (Padilla, Ruiz & Alverez, 1975; Sue & Sue, 1977). Career attitude and aptitude test results must be interpreted in terms of culture-specific objectives.

Samuda and Crawford (1980) write that counsellors must learn to recognize that differences exist within a cultural mix and therefore must accordingly address the demands and needs of culturally different children. For instance, personal or social counselling sessions can assist new Canadian students during the acculturation process. Counselling can provide a climate and opportunity for minority group children to discuss issues related to the preservation of their cultural values and traditions. Group and individual counselling sessions can also assist minority group students in achieving social acceptance and developing positive self-images (Chodzinski, 1979, 1984). Counsellors must in turn discover and ameliorate the experiences which give rise to self-defeating motives. Peer counsellors and community volunteers of similar cultural backgrounds can be trained and utilized as effective partners in the counselling process. Activities which encourage cultural diversity within the school community such as folk days, cultural heritage days, displays, speakers, films and special events highlight the positive aspects of cultural pluralism and provide a venue for expression. The counsellor who cares for and is sensitive to the needs of the minority group student can lay the groundwork for establishing a climate of acceptance and accommodation on the part of staff and student body.

Strategy for Personal Change and Self-Development

Acceptance of multiculturalism as a philosophy and as a policy is crucial to effective counselling within a culturally diversified milieu. School counsellors in providing services to minority group children must at some point address the fundamental questions of how individuals perceive their multicultural experiences and to what extent they believe in a pluralistic society. More specifically, professional helpers must confront themselves with questions related to their own prejudices, biases, values and attitudes regarding acceptance and understanding of peoples considered outside the majority group population.

It is incumbent then upon school counsellors to engage in an examination of conscience. The very process of counselling is dependent upon adherence to a basic philosophic premise of an acceptance of others and an acceptance of self. If school counsellors are not at peace with themselves in this regard, then as helpers they are severely limited.

Counsellors must build upon the basic skills and traits of our profession. Empathy, understanding, positive regard for others, honesty and mutual respect are cornerstones that will help to ensure, at least within the context of the counselling relationship, that the rights and privileges of individuals are valued.

As Samuda and Crawford (1980) argue, avoiding the recognition of differences – pretending that they do not exist – generates and perpetuates an insensitivity to and distrust of diversity. Individual and group differences must not be perceived as threats to the dominant culture but as symbols of the richness and diversity of humanity. As Shiman (1980, p. 39) writes:

> . . . we must deal with the tensions that emerge as we try to promote a common civic culture, encourage children's self-esteem with respect to their own ethnic group, and foster intercultural understanding and tolerance. The dynamics created as we try to achieve these potentially conflicting goals is a source of great strength and enormous growth.

Counsellors can accomplish these goals by becoming more sensitive toward the needs of different cultural and minority groups and by actively participating in learning activities which will enhance self-development and personal growth. Furthermore, activities which promote interactive experiences and enhance understanding through awareness of personal abilities will help ourselves and our students to be aware of our collective Canadianism, which is a sense of commonality in the integrated mainstream of Canadian society.

Summary

The issues related to multiculturalism in education, and particularly those that focus on the role of the counsellor within the multicultural setting, speak to the core of what it is to be a counsellor. It is incumbent upon counsellors to engage in soul-searching and reflect upon the ethics and professional codes which govern our behaviour. The American

Psychological Association and the Canadian Guidance and Counselling Association recognize that cultural differences and minority rights are important considerations for practicing counsellors.

It has been shown that disadvantaged groups are susceptible to stresses that detract from their mental health (Canino, 1980). School counsellors must ensure that schools do not contribute to that stress. School counsellors can help facilitate attitudinal changes on the part of majority group children toward minority group peers by promoting experiences that stress the acquisition of positive aspects of racial diversity (Ijaz & Ijaz, 1981). As Morris (1981, p. 287) writes: "Unless the young have positive experiences they can become victims of indirect influences which can translate into rigid prejudices."

Counsellors cannot undo the harm that has already been done, and we know that attutudes and goodwill alone cannot replace the pain of past prejudices, eliminate societal ills, change socio-economic differences, reduce class distinctions, eradicate colour barriers, reduce suspicions or produce favourable advantages for the disadvantaged. All that can be hoped is that positive interactive experiences foster positive growth and promote mutual understanding of self and others. School counsellors can become active in encouraging school boards to ensure quality education for all groups. They can promote the training and use of bilingual and bicultural counsellors, and they can pursue in-service programs that promote understanding of culturally different values and customs. Counsellors can become sensitive to the misue of standardized tests, promote evaluative procedures compatible with language and cultural differences, provide opportunities for minority group children to positively interact, acknowledge differences in career preferences and aspirations and provide services that promote self-development. Counsellors must continue to preserve the basic values of dignity, liberty and integrity of the persons for whom or on whose behalf services are performed.

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Counselling in Multicultural Schools: Implications for Teachers and Students

Raymond P. Perry and Rodney A. Clifton

The education system represents a major socializing agent for children and newcomers to Canada. It is responsible for teaching these people the knowledge, values, and rules that are necessary for success in our society. Historically, this training has centered around the dominant Anglo-Celtic and francophone groups which attempted to model Canada after the British and French examples. Other ethnic groups were expected to adopt the language, values, and customs of the Anglo-Celts and francophones, and to abandon their own ethnic heritage in the cause of social integration. The educational system was essential in this assimilation process.

The multiculturalism policy enacted by Prime Minister Trudeau (1971) was designed to change this hierarchical, ethnocentric structure of Canadian society into a cultural mosaic within a bilingual framework. Social harmony was to be achieved by recognizing and respecting the heritage of various ethnic groups rather than eliminating differences through assimilation practices. However, a number of sociologists, including John Porter (1975), argue that the social structure of Canada is a vertical mosaic in which certain ethnic groups are not totally accepted and do not have equal access to preferred social, occupational, and political positions. The result is a cultural hierarchy which restricts the opportunities of those groups at the bottom. Since educational institutions are instrumental in facilitating social mobility,

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Raymond P. Perry, Ph.D., is Professor in the Department of Psychology at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Rodney A. Clifton, Ph.D., is Professor of Sociology of Education in the Department of Educational Administration and Foundations at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

and since the training continues to be predominantly Anglo-Celtic and francophone, the vertical mosaic will remain intact.

If social integration in Canada is to be achieved through cultural acceptance and respect, educational institutions must begin to recognize, and to put into practice, a multicultural philosophy. The implications of this philosophy for the educational system are far-reaching. School personnel, including teachers, counsellors, and administrators, will be required to develop and to introduce multicultural practices in their professional activities. For school counsellors, this process will likely involve both teachers and students. The counsellor can assist teachers in dealing with multicultural classrooms through cultural awareness, assessment, and remediation. The counsellor can also provide assistance to the students in terms of standard psychological assessment and remediation. This chapter examines the counsellor's role in a multicultural school in terms of both teachers and students. It describes a prototypical multicultural classroom, and discusses intervention and remediation alternatives.

Multicultural Classrooms

The multicultural classroom consists of several ethnic groups operating under a common set of rules and objectives defined by the school curriculum. Although research into multicultural classrooms in sparse in Canada, Perry, Clifton and Hryniuk's study (1982) provides a recent, detailed example of what school counsellors may encounter. This example is based on an analysis of actual multicultural classrooms in Winnipeg, one of the most ethnically diverse cities in Canada. Of the approximately 600,000 city inhabitants, the 1981 Canada Census reported the following ethnic composition: British (36.3%); Chinese (1.1%); other Asiatics (3.5%); Dutch (2.2%); French (7.6%); German (9.4%); Italian (1.5%); Native Peoples (2.3%); Scandanavian (2.3%); Ukrainian (10.2%); other Single Origins (12.5%). As an example, Perry et al.'s study does not represent all multicultural classrooms, but rather it is intended to describe some important aspects and to illustrate some questions and solutions that are pertinent to counsellors.

Table 1
Sample by Ethnicity and Sex

Ethnicity	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
British	37	41	78	15.0
Filipino	23	26	49	9.4
French	26	19	45	8.7
German	34	41	75	14.4
Italian	27	25	52	10.0
Native Indian	20	18	38	7.3
Polish	7	13	20	3.9
Portugese	29	45	74	14.2
Ukrainian	42	47	89	17.1
Total	245	275	520	
Percentage	47.1	52.9		100.0

Descriptive Analysis

The study was carried out at the request of a large, urban school division. Three junior high schools were chosen, from which a total of 662 students in grades 7, 8, and 9 were selected for the study. Ethnicity was determined by having students specify their perceived ethnic affiliation which resulted in 34 ethnic groups being identified. The analyses were based on 520 students drawn from the nine largest ethnic groups comprising 78.5% of the original sample. Although there were almost equal numbers of females and males in the entire sample (females, 47.1%; males, 52.9%), there was substantial variation between ethnic groups (Table 1).

A student questionnaire was used to examine students' educational expectations and their attitudes toward their own and other ethnic groups. Six items assessed the students' expectations in terms of both classroom social behavior and academic performance (Dreeban, 1968). For social behavior expectations, students rated themselves on how cooperative, industrious, and reliable they thought they would be during the next three years. For academic performance expectations, students rated themselves in terms of their likelihood of successfully completing Grade 12 English, Grade 12 Mathematics, and university. Five-point scales were used to rate each of the six expectations (1 = much below average; 5 = much above average).

Table 2 presents the students' expectations of their classroom social behaviors and academic performance. For social behaviors, significant ethnic differences occurred for cooperativeness, suggesting that students from some ethnic groups expected themselves to be more cooperative than students from other groups. This effect is apparent in the rank order of the ethnic groups and shows that the Polish, Filipino, and British students had the highest expectations regarding coopera-

Table 2

Mean student ratings for classroom behaviors (cooperativeness, industriousness, reliability) and academic performance (English, Mathematics, and University)

	Social Behavior					
	Cooperativeness		Industriousness[a]		Reliability[a]	
Ethnic Group	X	Rank	X	Rank	X	Rank
British	3.67	(3)	3.62	(2)	3.53	(5)
Filipino	3.72	(2)	3.48	(5)	3.46	(8)
French	3.46	(8)	3.45	(7)[b]	3.47	(6)
German	3.54	(5)	3.54	(4)	3.60	(2)
Italian	3.64	(4)	3.68	(1)	3.57	(4)
Native Indian	3.21	(9)	3.16	(8)	3.32	(9)
Polish	3.75	(1)	3.55	(3)	3.65	(1)
Portugese	3.52	(6)	3.45	(7)[b]	3.45	(7)
Ukrainian	3.48	(7)	3.47	(6)	3.59	(3)

	Academic Performance					
	English		Mathematics		University	
Ethnic Group	X	Rank	X	Rank	X	Rank
British	3.70	(2)	3.53	(3)	3.36	(2)
Filipino	3.30	(8)	3.28	(7)	3.28	(3)
French	3.45	(6)	3.34	(6)	3.06	(6)
German	3.59	(4)	3.64	(2)	3.05	(7)
Italian	3.75	(1)	3.71	(1)	3.42	(1)
Native Indian	3.24	(9)	2.95	(9)	2.52	(9)
Polish	3.65	(3)	3.35	(5)	3.10	(5)
Portugese	3.55	(5)	3.25	(8)	3.22	(4)
Ukrainian	3.39	(7)	3.44	(4)	2.92	(8)

[a] Ethnic effects were not significant for this rating dimension.
[b] Tied ranks.

tiveness. For academic performance, significant ethnic differences occurred for all three items, indicating that students from some ethnic groups had higher expectations than students from other ethnic groups. This effect is evident in the rank ordering which indicates that the Italian and British students expect themselves to be more successful in academic performance than students from the other ethnic groups.

The Semantic Differential Scale (Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957) was used as a measure of attitudes towards various ethnic groups. This is a highly respected measure of cognitive structure which has been used in numerous attitude studies over the past 25 years. The name of an ethnic group, e.g., British, was placed above twelve bipolar adjective scales (e.g., bad-good, strong-weak). The student read the name of the ethnic group, then rated that group on each of the twelve bipolar adjective scales. For example, if a student thought the British were very friedly, then an X would be placed beside the word "friendly" on the "friendly-unfriendly" scale.

Figures 1 to 4 represent the results of the semantic differential ratings for "British," "French," "Filipino," and "Native Indian." By examining the plotted scores, one can see if the mean evaluations are negative, neutral, or positive. "Ingroup" refers to responses of students who identified themselves as belonging to the group being evaluated, while "outgroup" refers to the ethnic groups other than the one being evaluated. In Figure 1 the "ingroup" evaluations illustrate how the

Figure 1

Ingroup and Outgroup Semantic Differential Evaluations of "British"

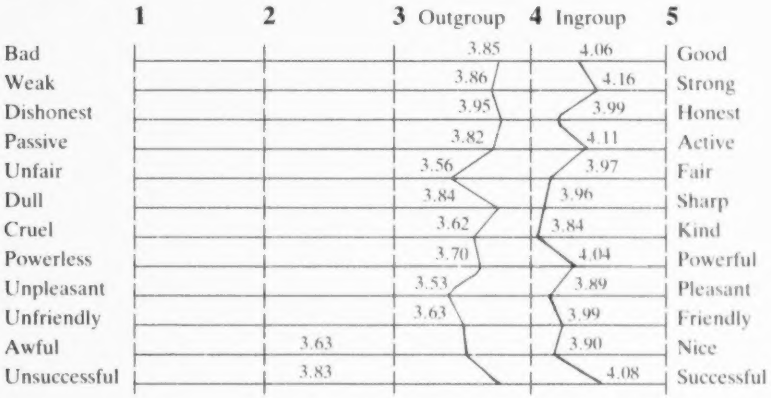


Figure 2

Ingroup and Outgroup Semantic Differential Evaluations of "French"

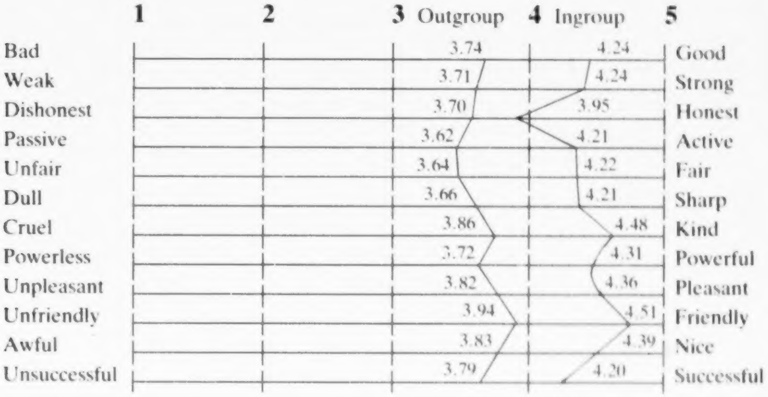
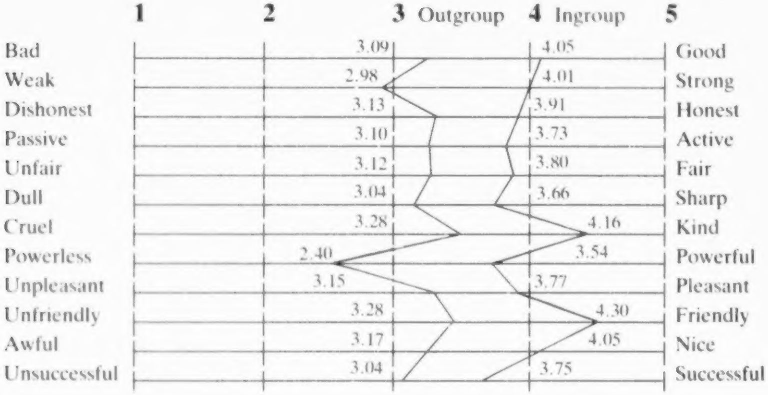


Figure 3

Ingroup and Outgroup Semantic Differential Evaluations of "Filipino"

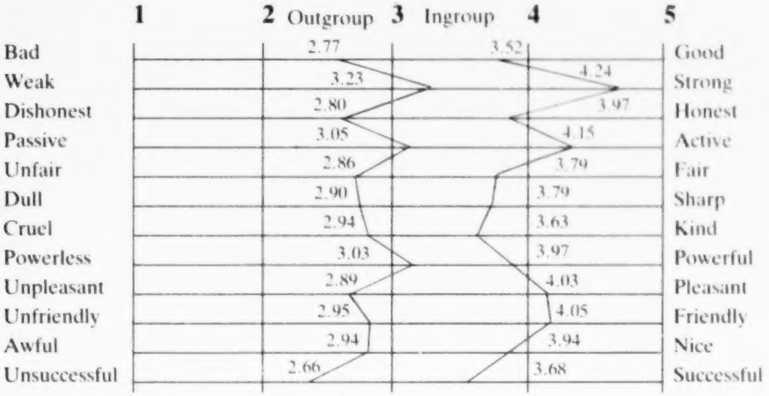


British students regarded themselves. The "outgroup" evaluations indicate how non-British students regarded the British.

The trends for both British and French (Figures 1 and 2) are similar in two ways and different in one. One similarity is that the outgroup

Figure 4

Ingroup and Outgroup Semantic Differential Evaluations of "Native Indians"



evaluations are all positive and similar for the British and French groups. The other is that the ingroup evaluations are consistently more positive than the outgroup evaluations. However, the major difference is in the disparity between the ingroup and outgroup evaluations. For the British, there is very little disparity between how they evaluate themselves (ingroup) and how others evaluate them (outgroup), while for the French the disparity is more pronounced.

Figures 3 and 4 present the ingroup and outgroup evaluations of Filipinos and Native Indians. There are a number of important similarities in these figures. For both Filipinos and Native Indians, there are greater disparities between the ingroup and outgroup evaluations than for either the British or French. Second, both the Filipinos and the Native Indians evaluate themselves less positively than either the British or the French evaluate themselves. Finally, the evaluations by the outgroups are generally either neutral or negative for both groups.

Implications

The results present a general description of multicultural classrooms in terms of students' expectations about their social behavior and academic performance, students' self-evaluations and students' attitudes towards other ethnic groups. The teacher's role in a multicultural classroom is to integrate these expectations and attitudes into an organized social structure based on classroom rules and norms to attain important educational objectives. Success depends on his/her awareness and understanding of how student ethnicity may influence student expectations, self-evaluations, attitudes, and achievement. For example, self-evaluation is considered to be an important factor in a student's emotional and educational development. Figures 2 and 3 show that French students have much more positive self-evaluations than do Filipino students (compare ingroup ratings). These ethnic differences in self-evaluation can influence the respective students' academic success and their social relations in the classroom.

Ethnic groups place different values on academic achievement, and socialize their children to adopt these values (e.g., Maehr, 1974; Rosen, 1959). The results described above indicate that a student's expectations about academic achievement are influenced by his/her ethnic heritage. Table 2 shows, for example, that Italian students have much higher expectations about their classroom social behavior and academic performance than do Portugese students. These results support increasing evidence linking ethnic heritage with academic values and expectations (e.g., Betnacourt & Weiner, 1982; Murray & Mednick, 1975), and raise various implications regarding the link with academic achievement. For example, students who expect to do well on examinations perform better than students who do not expect to do well (Frieze, 1980). Moreover, students who are expected by their teachers to do well do better than those who the teachers do not expect to do well (Rappaport & Rappaport, 1975; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968).

Finally, student attitudes toward different ethnic groups can have a profound impact on classroom harmony. As Figures 1 and 4 indicated, students' attitudes toward the British were more positive than were their attitudes toward the Native Indians (outgroup ratings). Students rating the concept Native Indian negatively may have generalized negative attitudes toward Native Indian students, and may engage in discriminatory acts toward them. Hostility and aggression may be directed toward Native Indian students within and outside the classroom, creating a tense, disruptive climate not conducive to academic values and norms. Moreover, prejudice and discrimination directed toward Native Indians may be generalized to other ethnic groups having similar characteristics.

Intercultural Counselling for Teachers

The preceeding analysis provides a brief description of multicultural classrooms in terms of student self-evaluations, expectations, and attitudes. Of course, these factors are only three of many factors which contribute toward the general functioning of the classroom as a whole. However, without systematic information about these factors, and without effective techniques to remediate the associated problems, it is unlikely that the teacher will be successful. In this respect the school counsellor can provide direct assistance to the teacher in three specific ways. First, the counsellor can participate in classroom assessment by making techniques available to the teacher which give a more accurate analysis of the classroom. Second, the counsellor can provide the teacher with effective classroom remediation procedures designed to reduce prejudice and discrimination. Finally, the counsellor can act as a resource person to the teacher providing general information regarding ethnic customs and values. Accordingly, the counsellor would be acting in a supportive role to the teachers and be responding to the classroom as a complex social entity.

Classroom Assessment

Social scientists have developed a number of techniques which provide detailed analyses of group processes. Clifton and Perry (1983) have described how two of these techniques can be used by teachers to assess multicultural classrooms: the semantic differential and the sociometric test. The semantic differential is a psychological instrument for measuring a person's understanding of various concepts and has been used to assess people's attitudes towards various ethnic groups. Clifton and Perry suggest that semantic differentials can be used to provide the teacher with "attitudinal snaphots" of students' preferences regarding other ethnic groups. Figures 1 to 4 demonstrate how semantic differentials can be used to assess students' attitudes towards different ethnic groups. Their article provides detailed instructions to teachers for using the semantic differential in multicultural classrooms.

The sociometric test is another technique that can be used for assessment purposes. Essentially, it requires that the teacher develop a number of activities in which the students can participate. Each student is asked to select a couple of other students with whom he/she would like to join in each activity. The teacher can use this information to construct a sociogram which provides a description of the social dynamics of the classroom. The sociogram can be used to design effective learning conditions, as in the case of Slavin's cooperative learning teams (1980) described in the Classroom Remediation section. Of course, no single technique gives a complete description of all factors that are critical for a successful multicultural classroom. Furthermore, these techniques are not intended to replace the teacher's informal assessment methods, but rather are intended to be used in combination with each other and to supplement the informal methods.

These and other social science techniques (e.g., Bogardus Social Distance Scale) can provide more systematic analyses of multicultural classrooms. A specific technique should be selected because it generates information relevant to the educational objectives of the classroom. It should be used with considerable care and discretion to avoid intensifying any interethnic tensions that may already exist. If ethnic tensions are evident, unobtrusive measures may be considered (e.g., Crosby, Bromley & Saxe, 1980). The school counsellor's role would be to provide assistance to teachers in using these techniques in their classrooms. The counsellor would need to have considerable expertise regarding these techniques and would need to develop a file of instruments which would be available to the teacher. Accordingly, the counsellor would provide a centralized resource in the school that would not otherwise be available to the teachers.

Classroom Remediation

Having assisted the teacher in assessing the multicultural classroom, the school counsellor can also help the teacher with remediation. A number of intervention techniques are available to eliminate prejudice and discrimination including artistic and cultural programmes, cooperative learning, positive role-modelling, multiethnic textbooks, and teachers' conferences (e.g., Clarke, 1982). Slavin (1980) and Aronson (1978) have developed cooperative learning techniques which hold considerable promise for multicultural classrooms. Based on the idea of athletic teams competing on the sports field, students are organized into "learning teams" within a classroom which are mixed ethnically and equated for academic ability. The team members cooperate among themselves and compete against other teams in the classroom to achieve specified educational goals. Results show that learning team classrooms outperform traditional classrooms on three important eductional objectives. Learning is enhanced for all students on the team, with the most significant gains being made by the disadvantaged students. Interethnic cooperation is facilitated, as is shown by more positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups and by more interethnic friedships. Finally, student self-esteem is enhanced.

The school counsellor can assist teachers in various remediation programmes in several ways. First, the counsellor can help the teacher interpret the results of the semantic differentials, sociometric tests, and other instruments used to assess prejudice and discrimination in the classroom. Second, the counsellor can advise the teacher in selecting the appropriate intervention programme, and in implementing it in the classroom. The counsellor's knowledge in multiculturalism, expertise in remediation programmes, and understanding of the assessment results would enable the most appropriate programme to be selected. Finally, the counsellor can help the teacher to determine whether the programme achieved its planned objectives in terms of academic and attitudinal outcomes.

Intercultural Counselling for Students

The preceeding section examined the school counsellor's role in assisting teachers develop social cohesion in multicultural classrooms. Aside from intergroup dynamics, the counsellor may be confronted with ethnic issues of a more personal, individual nature. Part of a school counsellor's responsibilities involves working with students who develop psychological, emotional, and academic problems during their educational development. Labels such as "marginal," "at-risk," and "learning disabled" are used to describe these problems characterized by symptoms that vary from boredom and apathy to hyperactivity and aggression. Counsellors are expected to remediate these problems using traditional psychological techniques including diagnosis, counselling, and therapy. As previously discussed, ethnic heritage may contribute to these problems. Poor self-concept due to prejudice and discrimination may lead to emotional problems, while low academic expectations may result in low achievement.

In these situations the counsellor's task would be to acquire a cultural awareness to differentiate between ethnic, psychological, and biological factors causing maladaptive behavior. The formal and informal assessment procedures used to diagnose students may be susceptible to ethnic biases. At the formal assessment level much has been written regarding cultural biases in psychological testing, and there is some evidence indicating problems with certain intelligence tests (e.g., Berry & Dasen, 1974). Several tests, such as the Raven's Progressive Matrices (Ravens, 1947), have been designed to reduce cultural biases by eliminating verbal comprehension and focusing on spacial ability. At the informal assessment level, the counsellor must be alert to how a student's language and customs can bias the overall impression of the student. These characteristics can elicit cultural stereotypes which may interfere with the counsellor's general clinical assessments.

The counsellor should also take ethnic factors into account when selecting remediation procedures. Counselling and therapy techniques developed for the dominant cultures may not be appropriate for various minority groups. Therapies emphasizing openess, public affection, or criticism of authority figures may not be effective with certain ethnic groups which do not value these attributes. For example, Wyspianski (1985) has argued that non-directive, client-centered therapy is particularly ineffective with northern European immigrants whose cultural traditions have taught them that problems have specific, concrete solutions, and that trained professionals are responsible for providing them. Lengthy therapy sessions in which the onus for problem-solving is placed on the client are not well-received by them. Consequently, careful consideration must be given to selecting the remediation procedure which best meets the unique characteristics of a particular ethnic group.

Ethnicity and Control

Porter's vertical mosaic suggests that an ethnic group's relative position in the cultural hierarchy is determined by such factors as power, prestige, language, customs, discrimination etc. Ethnic groups at the top of the hierarchy are likely to feel more in control of their social environment than those at the bottom, and to exhibit very different psychological profiles and coping strategies. Reasons for these differences are many, however, two appear to be particularly significant: cultural socialization and direct experience. Some groups are very systematic in their cultural training, imparting their values and norms to succeeding generations in terms of cultural awareness, self-identity, ethnic tolerance, and educational and professional expectations. As part of this process, the children come to learn something about influencing the environment. Some groups may stress the importance of a child's ability and effort in controlling the environment, whereas others may emphasize the role of external forces, such as institutions and dominant cultural groups, in determining the child's future. Consequently, cultural socialization in some ethnic groups may provide their children with high expectations for controlling outcomes in their environment. They may be more willing to initiate and to persist at certain activities, and as a result are more likely to be successful. Other ethnic groups, however, may inculcate low expectations in their children for controlling their environment, making them less willing to persist, and more prone to failure.

Direct experience can also contribute to an ethnic group's perceived control over the environment. Cultural dominance and social acceptance will allow members of some ethnic groups to be effective in controlling their social environment, whereas members of other ethnic groups will be ineffective because of their low social status, prestige, or power. A response which produces success for a high status person may produce failure when initiated by a low status person. For example, access to institutions, requests for assistance, or influence in politics may meet with success or failure simply due to the ethnic heritage of the person initiating the activity. The inability to influence these outcomes systematically may convince members of some ethnic groups that they have little control over the environment (e.g., Clifton, 1977).

Learned Helplessness

Seligman (1975) has developed a model for clinical depression in humans based on the concept of control. Control enables effective coping in a social setting, whereas lack of control impedes adaptation. Repeated exposure to uncontrollability produces learned helplessness which encompasses many of the clinical symptoms of reactive depression in humans. Experimental research has specified the conditions which are most likely to cause helplessness. When a person's actions or behaviors reliably produce certain outcomes in the environment, this relationship is called response-outcome contingent. That is, the outcome is contingent or dependent on the person's response. Thus, a person is in control of the immediate environment because his actions predictably cause specific outcomes. However, when a person's behaviors do not reliably produce certain outcomes, this relationship is described as response-outcome noncontingent: the outcome is unrelated to or independent of the response. Here, the person is not in control of the environment because her/his actions do not reliably affect outcomes.

When faced with repeated exposure to response-outcome noncontingency, a person will exhibit cognitive, emotional, and behavioral deficits, which are referred to as learned helplessness. Cognitive deficits are characterized by the way in which the person comes to perceive the situation. The belief that personal ability and effort do not produce the desired outcomes, but rather uncontrollable external forces like luck or fate are responsible. This is followed by a blunting of emotional affect in which the person withdraws from his/her surroundings and becomes bored, apathetic, and depressed. These cognitive and emotional changes in turn produce behavioral deficits because there is no reason to continue trying. The person simply gives up – quits! The severity of the reaction depends on the amount of exposure to noncontingency conditions. However, the critical factor is the person's expectations that his/her own ability and effort will not produce the desired outcomes.

Recent evidence suggests that perceived control may be an important factor in the classroom. Stipek and Weisz's review (1981) suggests that students' expectations about controlling academic outcomes are correlated to a number of achievement variables. Dweck and colleagues (Dweck, 1975; Dweck & Reppucci, 1973) systematically altered students' expectations using attribution retraining so that the students believed they had more control. Under failure conditions, students were taught that their performance was due to lack of effort, rather than to lack of ability, bad luck, or test difficulty. Those who perceived greater control performed better during the school year than those who perceived that they had less control. Finally, at the college level Perry and Dickens (1984) found that perceived control affects achievement in the college classroom. Students who had received contingent training felt that they had greater control and actually performed better after a lecture than students who received noncontingent training.

Thus, belief patterns, cognitive styles, and coping strategies may develop in some ethnic groups through socialization practices and direct negative experience with the dominant culture that make those groups feel out of control. They come to believe that their abilities and efforts are unlikely to produce the desired consequences in the society around them. For example, it is commonly argued that Native Indian students are more likely than members of other ethnic groups to believe that success and failure are largely a matter of luck (Clifton, 1977). Within the education system, these perceptions of control may determine a student's success or failure. If, because of ethnic heritage, a student believes that he/she has little control over environmental outcomes, then it is possible that he/she will become helpless. The recognition that ethnic heritage and perceived control are contributing to a student's failure, and not his/her diet, chemical imbalance, or physical impairment, is critical for implementing the appropriate remediation strategy.

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A Model for Using Intercultural Counselling Insights and Skills to Enhance Teachers' Intercultural Competence

Judith Torney-Purta

The training of counsellors in the skills required for dealing with individuals of differing cultural backgrounds has been the subject of a number of books and articles over the last decade. There has also been considerable work in the field of intercultural training designed to prepare sojournors to live in other cultures. The level of interest in this field is indicated by the recent publication of a three volume handbook on intercultural training dealing with theory, training models, and the application of models in different world areas (Landis & Brislin, 1983).

During this same period educators have expressed considerable concern about students' knowledge of global issues and their empathy for those from different cultural backgrounds. The sources of educators' concern include empirical research demonstrating low levels of information about and interest in such issues on the part of both secondary students (Torney, 1977) and college students (Barrows, 1981) in the U.S. Some recent research has indicated at least moderate success for some global education programs at the elementary and secondary levels (Mitsakos, 1978; Torney-Purta, 1984). However, intensified training of teachers to specifically implement such programs is crucial. Even before national reports criticizing the general quality of teachers were issued in the U.S. in 1983, the analysis of data from the Council on

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Judith Torney-Purta, Ph.D., is Professor of Human Development and Director for Academic Programs at the Institute for Child Study at the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, U.S.A.

Learning Study (Barrows, 1981; Torney-Purta, 1982) had shown that the global awareness of undergraduate majors in education was lower than that of students in any other undergraduate specialization.

The last decade has also seen a concern for multicultural education (especially ways to help teachers enhance self concept among members of minority or immigrant groups and improve intergroup relations in their school or classroom). This problem has taken on new urgency in the U.S. and Canada with the recent influx of migrants and with cuts in funds for specialized personnel to deal with these students. It is not a problem limited to North America; see, for example, a review of education relating to issues of cultural pluralism in Britain, Fiji, Hawaii, and Australia (as well as the U.S. and Canada) by Bullivant (1981).

In summary, the interests of those specializing in counselling or training with intercultural dimensions and those specializing in education with international or multicultural dimensions are converging. The purpose of this paper is to suggest ways of accelerating that convergence by applying insights from intercultural counselling to educational settings.

There are a number of problems which should be anticipated in training educators with insights and skills derived from intercultural counselling. Some of these problems result from differences between the characteristics of the classroom and the counselling interview. The students are in the classroom by law, while the client is usually in counselling by choice. Although there is some difference in authority between counsellor and client, that difference is magnified between teacher and student. Further, the beliefs of most educators emphasize to some extent the aim of resocializing students who come from other cultures to help them become good Canadian or American citizens; this is less likely to be an objective of the counsellor. There is also a belief that young people are the most appropriate subjects for acculturation efforts because they are able to learn new culturally patterned behaviors less painfully than adults. However, educators may overestimate the malleability of the young. The "professional culture" of the staff of the school itself seldom encourages reflection on issues such as unconscious cultural bias, while groups of counsellors are more likely to talk about such problems.[1] Finally, the counsellor usually has the opportunity to work with an individual or a small group; the teacher, on the other hand, is often faced with a situation in which several cultures as well as intergroup peer interactions must be taken into account. Despite these factors, the similarities between the situations of the teacher and the counsellor are probably greater than their differences when dealing with multicultural groups.

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[1] Vontress (1981), however, argues that even relatively well-trained counsellors frequently are unaware of the way that their own assumptions about self disclosure, self rejection, ways of listening, and modesty may differ from those of clients of other racial and ethnic groups. Several of the chapters in this book point to the ways in which nonverbal behavior complicates communication for counsellors as well as for teachers.

Assumptions

Two assumptions about enhanced intercultural interaction should be stated at the outset. First is the assumption that the successful interactor is likely to possess certain personality characteristics, including empathy, flexibility or adaptability, openness to new ideas or to changes in social perceptions, and respect for others (and their differences) (see Kealey & Ruben, 1983). Although these characteristics are usually viewed as stable personality traits which have roots in early life, it is possible that some of them could be induced by short-term experiences, e.g., training in perspective taking as a way to enhance empathy, and experience in a close and friendly relationship with an individual from another culture as a way to enhance openmindedness and respect for others (see Brislin, 1983). Although one might argue that such characteristics are more likely to be found in mental health professionals than in educators, their distributions are almost certainly overlapping.

The second assumption is that there are knowledge and skills which can be imparted to individuals preparing for intercultural interactions: knowledge of the social and subjective aspects of another culture; communication skills (including listening); skill in observing the verbal and non-verbal behavior of one's self and others; ability to generate alternative attributions for observed behaviors. Although these skills are more likely to be part of the pre-service training of counsellors than of educators, there is no reason such skills could not be transmitted to teachers. In summary, both personal and professional development are important to increased intercultural competence among teachers.

A Model Relating Intercultural Competence to Different Teacher Roles

Decades of experience suggest that it is very difficult to bring about educational change. Documenting that a problem situation exists (e.g., the unmet needs of large numbers of diverse new migrants) does not automatically produce motivation to use educational means to solve that problem. In fact the IEA Civic Education survey suggested that there was a curvilinear relationship between amount of cultural diversity in a country and the degree of positive response in the form of democratic values among students. Educational systems in some countries appeared to be overwhelmed by diversity and unable to facilitate positive socialization. Countries where there was little diversity also showed low levels of tolerance. The highest levels of support for democratic values among adolescents were found in countries with moderate levels of cultural diversity (Torney & Tesconi, 1977).

Previous experience has also indicated that exhortation to remedy failures in dealing with "the cultural mosaic" seldom motivates change in teachers' attitudes or behavior. Analagously, recent reports sounding an alarm regarding educational quality in the U.S. have met with the following response from the schools – the reports' writers do not understand the problems of teachers in the classroom. In an attempt to bridge the gap between recognition of a need for improved intercultural competence and actual classroom practice, a model is suggested which addresses four roles a teacher plays: as instructor, gatekeeper, citizen, and helper (see Table 1). Improving a teacher's intercultural competence, as many of the chapters in this volume suggest, involves changes in the way each role is performed. Linking suggestions about intercultural competence to a realistic understanding of the complexity of the teacher's role appears to have more potential for success than exhorting to multi-culturalism or hand-wringing about the education provided to ethnic or migrant groups.

The teacher serving in the role of *instructor* has as a primary responsibility to teach children skills and impart information. Someone may be a good instructor in general, and may communicate well to students who are able to accurately decode verbal and non-verbal behavior (because they share a common linguistic and cultural background) but may find it very difficult to instruct students who are less skilled in this decoding. Part of becoming an interculturally competent instructor involves tailoring communication to meet the needs of students who come from different cultural communities.

Another important role for the teacher is as a *gatekeeper*. The teacher exercises tremendous power over a child's academic future, deciding which students will be admitted to university-preparatory programs (for example) or sent to special education classrooms. Several of the chapters note that the tests associated with this gatekeeping func-

Table 1

A Model of Teachers' Roles and Intercultural Competence

The teacher in the role of *instructor* develops children's skills and imparts information.

- *With lower intercultural competence* communicates to students able to decode verbal and non-verbal behavior;
- *With higher intercultural competence* communicates to students from other cultural communities less skilled in reading verbal and non-verbal behavior.

The teacher in the role of *gatekeeper* exercises judgment about children's academic future.

- *With lower intercultural competence* uses tests in order to refer out children whose performance is not understood and does not recognize the possible culture-bias of tests;
- *With higher intercultural competence* balances positive primary prevention with selective referral; uses tests for remediation with knowledge of their limitations.

The teacher in the role of *citizen* promotes national identity and democratic values.

- *With lower intercultural competence* socializes to a national identity and to mainstream culture;
- *With higher intercultural competence* balances socialization of national and cultural identities.

The teacher in the role of *helper* develops personal relationships with students.

- *With lower intercultural competence* serves as patron-authority;
- *With higher intercultural competence* expresses sensitivity to personal needs and empathy.

tion are often not culture-fair and select out students who are not performing as well as others primarily because of cultural factors. Teachers who lack intercultural competence may use these tests to refer children to other classes without taking account of the tests' limitations. In contrast, the interculturally competent teacher might use tests more selectively – to assist in planning remediation or in identifying students who may need special help as a preventive measure. Taking an alternate perspective, it is important to note that a teacher overwhelmed with new immigrant students possessing limited language competence may use tests and referrals to relocate these students in order to relieve pressure on both teacher and class. If a teacher's gatekeeping function is not to be distorted, policy concerning class size and supportive services to immigrant children must be addressed along with teacher training.

The teacher entering the classroom does not abandon his or her role as *citizen*; this includes national allegiance to Canada or the United States. The large majority of educators feel that some importance should be attached to socializing students to national citizenship and mainstream culture in their new country, even if this means that immigrants lose some part of their previous national identity. The extent to which educators stress this objective probably depends on their own view of the importance of national identity and patriotism, as well as on their view of differences between the political culture of the country of origin and the new country. For example, there is some evidence that U.S. citizens have a stronger sense of national identity than Canadian citizens (Statt, 1981); it is also probably true that a refugee child from Laos or Cambodia will be perceived as needing more political socialization than a new immigrant from Scotland or West Germany. Encouraging teachers to become more interculturally competent in this area would include making them aware of a positive balance between national identity and ethnic cultural identity – recognizing that one need not replace the other.

The teacher's role as a *helper* is in some ways the most difficult to discuss because it deals with the personal relationship between teacher and student which varies enormously according to the characteristics of the individuals. However, a model which did not deal with this important part of classroom interaction (especially at the elementary level) would be inadequate. The less interculturally competent teacher may deal with students in a patronizing way; the more interculturally competent teacher would be more perceptive about personal needs, more sensitive to non-verbal communication, and more empathetic. In this area (even more than in the other aspects of the teacher's role) personal as well as professional development is a necessary part of improving intercultural competence.

Taking these four aspects of the teacher's role as essential to increasing intercultural competence, what specific techniques developed in intercultural counselling and training might be useful for in-service or pre-service training?

A Selection of Intercultural Techniques for the In-Service and Pre-Service Training of Teachers

Gudykunst and Hammer (1983) suggest two dimensions along which training techniques differ: Experiential/Discovery vs. Didactic/Expository and Culture General vs. Culture Specific. They describe a series of examples in each of the resulting quadrants, paying special attention to Experiential/Discovery techniques (since the previous experience of most trainees has been with school-based Didactic/Expository material). Educators in the U.S. and Canada would find two types of material especially useful – culture general material and material dealing with specific cultures they are likely to contact in their classrooms (e.g., Asian and Southeast Asian, Hispanic, Black, and Indian). Techniques which might make educators more sensitive to cultural variation in child-adult relations or achievement motivation would also be of special value. Several of the Experiential and Culture General activities described by Gudykunst and Hammer could be adapted for preservice or in-service teacher training. To take one example, the "contrast American" simulation was designed by Stewart (1966) and is based on comparison of American values with those in other cultures in areas such as perceptions of self and others, motivation, and social relations. Other excellent simulations of intercultural experience include BAFABAFA (Shirts, 1973) and The Owl (Gochenour, 1977). In the use of each of these simulations it is important to conduct an extensive debriefing relating them to classroom settings and problems. In addition to using published simulations, it is possible to develop assignments in which teachers share their interracial and intercultural autobiographies as a way of introducing a discussion of stereotypes and feelings about those from other ethnic groups (see Torney-Purta, 1984).

The reading and discussion of fiction and autobiographies is an excellent way to introduce intercultural issues to teachers. It lies between the Experiential and the Didactic poles of the Gudykunst/Hammer model and can be used either for general culture or culture-specific issues. Part of the problem in making recommendations is that although such books are frequently available in paperback, they rapidly go out of print. An illustrative list of current volumes useful for considering the experiences of children and adolescents, family and sex-role issues, and achievement motivation from several cultural groups would include:

- Matthews, *Culture Clash*, a reconstructed diary of the experience of an American family who sponsored a Vietnamese refugee family;
- Emecheta, *Second-Class Citizen*, an autobiographical novel describing the problems encountered by a Nigerian woman who follows her husband to London where she has five children and gets a university degree, but faces the status of second-class citizen because she is a woman and migrant;

- Rivera, *Family Installments*, a story of a young boy in Puerto Rico whose family immigrates to New York;
- Rodriguez, *Hunger of Memory*, an autobiography of a Mexican-American who must leave the private world of his family in order to achieve his intellectual goals in a public setting but mourns the loss that entails.

These book are listed as illustrations; they are all American or British (and should be supplemented with Canadian books).

The best example in the quadrant of Culture Specific and Didactic materials is the Cultural Assimilator, employing partially programmed materials to train people to make more accurate attributions about the meaning of behavior in other cultures. The Assimilator was originally developed to train sojournors preparing to live in other countries. Cultural Assimilators for a wide range of cultures and groups have recently appeared. Albert (1983) developed a Cultural Assimilator for North American teachers to help them understand a number of problem situations Hispanic children face in the classroom (e.g., a girl who does not understand an assignment but does not ask the teacher to explain). Four possible attributions for this child's behavior are listed, and one is to be chosen. Each attribution is followed by text which explains the reason why it is or is not correct in that situation. Albert developed another Culture Assimilator for use by Hispanic pupils to help them understand North Americans. The incidents for both Assimilators were obtained by asking Hispanic pupils and Anglo teachers to recall instances of misunderstanding. The alternative attributions were obtained by further interviews. The themes in the 40 problem incidents include (among others) the role of family, personalism and individualized attention, cooperation vs. competition, norms and rules of polite behavior. Albert lists a number of other Cultural Assimilators, but the one described here would be of particular value for teachers.

Two Research-Validated Approaches Using Triads to Promote Teachers' Reflectiveness about Intercultural Situations

Although developed from very different sources, both Pedersen (1983) and Erickson and Shultz (1982) have described methods for training counsellors which attempt to make them more reflective about their practice. Both of these methods have been the subject of research and both appear to have elements applicable in educational settings.

The recommendations of Erickson and Shultz (1982) result from a research project in which interviews between junior college counsellors and students were videotaped and extensively analyzed using micro-ethnography. In addition, the counsellor and the student independently viewed the tape of the interaction and identified points where they felt uncomfortable. The researchers concluded that it was more accurate to argue that empathy and rapport reside in an interaction rather than as a personal trait in a counsellor. Where individuals shared a cultural communication style (usually similar ethnicity) the usual result was interactions characterized by reciprocity and rhythmicity (verbally and non-verbally expressed). Individuals who were "cultural strangers" to each other showed dysfunctional patterns of both speaking and listening. In some cases, however, the issue of co-membership was as important as shared ethnicity. In instances where the counsellor referred to a common interest (e.g., high school sports) it was sometimes possible to avoid what would otherwise be uncomfortable moments in the interview. Erickson and Shultz believe that training counsellors in skills such as active listening or self disclosure will often be ineffective, especially when the counsellor and student come from different cultural communication groups. Successful active listening requires a certain kind of response from the client; self disclosure is much easier if some type of common interest (co-membership) has been established. The researchers thus recommend that counsellors should be trained to search actively during the session for co-memberships (similarities of interest) and to reflect on the uncomfortable moments of an interview to ascertain how reciprocity of listening and speaking might better be established.

Chapters from a book on ethnography in bilingual classrooms describe several studies with implications for educational settings. In one a teacher became a collaborator in observational research, an activity which can have a positive effect on both the adequacy of the research and the reflective approach of the teacher (Florio & Walsh, 1981). In a second chapter, cultural differences in teaching styles in Canadian Indian classrooms were described (Mohatt & Erickson, 1981). These studies, which are part of an ongoing project coordinated by Erickson, represent a bridge between techniques derived from counselling and techniques useful in classrooms.

While Erickson and his colleagues use a triad consisting of counsellor's view, client's view and observer's analysis of video, Pedersen (1983) describes a Triad Model used in the training of counsellors which also has possible utility for teacher training. The three units are the counsellor trainee and a coached team consisting of a client and an "anticounsellor" (usually of the same sex and from the same ethnic group as the client). The purpose of the anticounsellor is to make explicit the implicit cultural dimensions of the interaction by providing immediate feedback about potentially unwarranted cultural assumptions expressed by the counsellor trainee (e.g., a trainee who assumes that declaring independence from parental control should be the goal of a 24-year old Japanese-American female). During the training interview itself, the anti-counsellor makes critical comments about the trainee's approach. Following the interview, more positive feedback is given. Some research has validated the positive effects on counsellor effectiveness resulting from the use of this model. Pedersen reports that four specific skills seem to be developed by using this technique: first, the ability to articulate the problem from the client's cultural perspective; second, recognizing resistance from the client in concrete terms and at the time it is occuring; third, helping the counsellor deal directly with the naturally defensive feelings he or she may have when faced with critical comments from the anticounsellor; fourth, helping the counsellor learn ways of recovering from mistakes made with culturally different clients.

A triadic technique in which the professional trainee is one of three objects or sources (used by both Erickson and Pedersen) has considerable potential for use in teacher training. It is similar to a technique used by John Elliott of Cambridge University and described in a series of papers on classroom action research (Elliott, 1980). In that program the three sources are classroom observation, teacher interviews, and student interviews. One of the major purposes of this approach is to make teachers more reflective about classroom practice.

Conclusions

This chapter has suggested a convergence of interests between the areas of intercultural training, intercultural counselling, and multicultural education. A model has been proposed for viewing the teacher as performing a variety of roles in the classroom, each of which may be enacted with more or less intercultural competence. Concrete techniques for use in teacher training in order to enhance both personal and professional development have been described, with the ultimate aim of improving the intercultural competence of the teacher as instructor, gatekeeper, citizen, and helper.

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Author Index

Adler, A., 26, *30*
Adler, P.S., 226, *233*, 272, *278*
Agard, R., 135, *139*, 157, 159, *163*
Aiello, J.R., 35, *45*
Akbar, N., 210, *213*
Akeju, S.A., 168, *174*
Albert, R., 390, *393*
Alexander, A.A., 242, *247*, *248*
Allen, D.B., 217, *223*
Alverez, R., 308, *311*, 360, *364*
Amichand, D.H., 243, *247*
Amir, Y., 112, *121*
Amundson, N.E., 251, 269–279, 269, 270, 277, *278*
Anastasi, A., *152*, 343, 345, *351*
Anderson, N., 309, *311*
Anderson, P.W., 203, 204, *213*
Anderson, W., 304, *312*
Annis, R.C., 179, 180, 215–224
Arbitman-Smith, R.A., *153*
Argulewicz, F.N., 161, *162*
Argyle, M., 36, *45*, 51, *63*, 337, *351*
Aronson, E., 376, *381*
Arrenondo-Dowd, P.M., 211, *213*, 278
Arsenian, S., 196, *201*
Archer, D., *47*, 59, *65*
Ashworth, B.J., 92, *94*
Ashworth, M., *138*, 198, *201*
Atkinson, D.R., 42, 44, *46*, 58, 63, 73, 75, 76, *80*, 326, *339*
Atlas, D., 211, *214*
Atlas, J.W., *213*
Attanucci, J., 89, *95*
Attneave, C.L., 218, 222, *223*
Aubrey, R.F., 76, *80*

Backner, B.L., 44, *46*
Bagley, C., 86, 87, *94*, *95*
Banikiotes, F.G., 44, *47*
Banikiotes, P.G., 44, 47, 62, *65*, 73, *80*
Banks, G., 44, *46*, 58, *63*, *138*, 217, 222
Banks, J.A., 358, *364*
Bannatyne, A., 160, *162*
Banton, M., 87, 89, 90, *94*
Barak, A., 331, *339*
Baratz, J., *138*
Baratz, S., *138*
Bardo, H., 62, *63*
Barna, L., 55, 56, *66*
Barrett, C., *213*
Barrows, T., 383, 384, *393*
Barry, R.A., 210, *213*
Bartel, N.R., 156, *163*
Baxter, J.C., 35, *46*
Bayer, A.E., 205, *213*
Beady, C.Jr., *213*
Beebee, S.A., 53, *63*
Bedal, C.L., 42, *46*
Behringer, R.D., *214*
Belkin, G.S., 28, *30*, 326, 327, 358, *363*
Bender, L., 157, *162*
Bereiter, C., *138*
Berenson, B.G., 44, *46*, 58, *63*
Berlo, D.K., 60, *63*
Berman, J., 58, *63*
Bernadelli, A., *234*
Bernstein, B., *138*
Berry, J.W., *16*, *17*, *140*, 167, 170, 171, 173, *174*, *175*, 180, 198, *201*, 216, 221, 222, *223*, 235–248, 236, 239, 240, 241, 244, 245, *247*, *248*, 346, 351, 359, *363*, *364*, 378, *381*
Bersoff, D.N., *351*
Bertrand, S., 245, *247*
Betnacourt, H., 374, *381*
Bhatia, C.M., 166, 173, *174*
Bhatnagar, J., 9, *16*, 179, 191–202, 196, 197, *201*
Biesheuvel, S., 167, 173, *174*
Binswanger, L., 20, 25, *30*
Birdwhistell, R.L., 36, *46*
Black, H., 345, *351*
Blashford, R.K., 347, *352*
Blondel, T., 245, *247*
Bloombaum, M., 310, *311*
Blubaugh, J.A., 50, 54, *63*
Blue, A.W., 179, 180, 215–224
Bociurkiw, B., 11, *16*
Bolton, B., 303, *311*
Borgen, W.A., 251, 269–279, 269, 270, 277, *278*
Bountrogianni, M., 148, *152*
Brainerd, C.J., 149, *152*
Brammer, L.M., 281, *292*
Braun, P., 244, 245, *247*
Breton, R., 13, 15, *16*
Briggs, N., 51, 60, *66*
Brigham, C., 7
Brimble, A.R., 167, 171, *175*
Brislin, R.W., 91, *94*, 142, *152*, 241, *247*, 316, *320*, 326, *339*, *340*, 383, 385, *393*

Brodsky, A., 271, *279*
Bromley, S., 376, *381*
Brower, I.C., 277, *278*
Brown, A.E., 251, 295–301
Brown, A.L., 142, *152*
Brown, B.S., 57, *66*
Brown, F., 159, *162*, 169, *176*
Bryan, M., *139*
Bryne, R.H., 76, *80*
Bryson, S., 62, *63*
Buchanan, M.E., 119, *121*
Buchignani, N., 193, 198, *201*
Bugental, J.F., 28, *30*
Bullivant, B., 384, *393*
Burke, M., 356, *364*
Burke, S.M., 161, *162*
Burnet, J., 10, 11, 13, *16*, 109, *121*
Burton, A., 27, *30*
Buscaglia, L., 303, *311*
Butcher, J.N., 290, *292*

Cahill, D., *17*
Calhoun, J.F., 75, *82*, 357, *365*
Calzavara, L., 253, 262, *266*, *267*
Campbell, D., 287, *292*
Campbell, E., *138*, *352*
Campione, J.C., 142, 146, *152*
Canino, I., 363, *364*
Capps, S., 297, *301*
Carey, R., 211, *213*
Carkhuff, R., 44, *46*, 58, *63*
Carroll, J.B., 170, *174*
Carroll, J.L., 287, *293*
Carroll, W.B., 169, *175*
Carter, J., 343, *351*
Casas, J.M., 72, 74, 75, *80*
Chai, C., 184, *189*
Chan, C., 245, *247*
Chandra, U.K., 198, *201*
Chapman, D., 343, *351*
Cheng, E., 211, *213*
Cheng, M., 297, *301*
Cheng, T.K., 183, *189*
Chesler, M.A., 305, *311*
Chi, M.T.H., 149, *152*
Chigier, E., 305, *311*
Chigier, M., 305, *311*
Chodzinski, R.T., 323, 343–353, 346, *351*, 355–365, 357, 361, *364*
Christenson, E.W., 278, *279*
Christian, J.L., 22, 25, *30*
Chu, H.-M., *247*
Chung, M.R., 168, *174*
Cimbolic, P., 62, *63*
Clark, K., *138*
Clarke, P.R., 376, *381*
Claydon, L., 9, *16*
Cleary, A., 346, *352*
Cleary, T.A., *352*
Clifton, R.A., 324, 367–382, 368, 375, 379, 380, *381*
Cloerkes, G., 305, *311*
Coard, B., 128
Cobbs, P.M., 75, *81*
Cole, M., 150, *153*
Cole, N.S., 157, *163*
Coleman, J.M., *139*, 160, *164*, 345, *352*
Coles, G.S., 135, *139*, 157, *163*
Collett, P., 39, 40, 41, *46*, 59, *63*
Collins, D., 198, *201*
Conaway, L., 217, *223*
Cook, S., 242, *248*
Cooke, T., 253, *267*
Cornille, T.A., 205, *213*
Cote, L., *233*
Crawford, D.H., 12, 14, *17*, 42, *47*, 131, *140*, 205, *214*, 343, *353*, 356, 361, 362, *365*
Cromwell, R.L., 347, *352*
Cronbach, L.J., 345, *352*
Crosby, F., 376, *381*
Crossland, F., *139*
Crystal, D., 36, *46*
Cummins, J., 345, *352*
Cvetkovich, G., 72, *81*

DaCosta, G.A., 204, 211, *213*
Dabbs, J.M., Jr., 40, *46*, 59, *64*
Danley, W., 142, *153*
Darcy, N.T., 196, *201*
Darlington, R.B., 346, *352*
Das, J.P., 172, *175*
Dasen, P.R., 146, 150, *152*, 378, *381*
Dasko, D., 253, *267*
Davidson, I., *139*
Davis, E.E., 160, *164*
Davis, K., 33, 46
Davis, R., 287, *292*
Dawson, J.L.M., 243, *248*
DeAvila, E.A., 359, *364*
Dell, D.M., 62, *65*, 331, *339*
Dell Orto, A.E., 303, *311*
Delworth, U., 274, *279*
De Fries, J., 89, *94*
De Sousa, R., 26, *30*
Destefana, J., *234*
Deutsch, M., *139*, 344, *352*
Dhanota, A.S., 296, *301*
Diaz-Guerrero, R.A., 76, *80*
Dick, B., 252, 315–320
Dickens, W.J., 380, *381*
Dillard, J.M., 77, *80*
Dimatteo, R.M., *47*, 59, *65*
Dinges, N.G., 217, *223*
Dixon, D.N., 60, 62, *65*, 217, *223*
Djap, D., 148, *152*
Dodd, C.H., 51, 52, 53, 54, 58, 60, *64*
Dokecki, P.R., 160, *164*
Donahue, T.J., 225, 228
Dornbusch, S.M., 304, *312*
Doty, R.L., 53, *64*
D'Oyley, V., 343, *352*, 359, *364*
Draguns, J.G., 42, *47*, 50, *64*, 76, 79, *80*, *81*, *223*, 232, *233*, 266, *267*, 291, *293*, *320*, 326, 356, *364*
Drapela, V.J., 225, 228, 229, *233*
Dreeban, R., 369, *381*
Dreger, R., *139*
Dreikurs, R., 76, *81*
Drenth, P.J., 167, 171, *175*, *176*
Driver, G., 172, *175*
Dubin, F., 55, *64*
Dunn, L.M., *139*, 156, 157, *163*, 345, *352*
Dweck, C.S., 380, *381*
Dyal, J., 245, *247*

Eagle-Elk, J., 219, *223*
Edelwich, J., 271, *279*
Egan, G., 275, *279*
Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I., 41, *46*, 61, *64*, 328, *340*
Eisenstadt, S.N., 60, *64*
Ekman, P., 61, 62, *64*, 328, 330, 332, *340*
Elliott, J., 392, *393*
Ellis, A., 23, 29, *30*
Elliston, I.N., 179, 203–214, 206, 209, *213*, 358, 360, *364*
Ellsworth, P.C., 53, *64*
Elwell, P., 7, *17*
Emecheta, B., 389, *393*
Emerson, P., 304, *312*
Erickson, F., 38, 39, 40, *46*, 52, 59, *64*, 77, *81*, 390, 391, 392, *393*
Evans, R.I., 40, *47*
Eysenck, H.J., 173, *175*

Fabinyi, A., 8, *16*
Feinburg, P.C., 360, *365*
Feldman, D.H., 151, *152*
Ferguson, E., 226, 228, *233*
Ferguson, T., 192, *201*
Ferrara, R.A., 142, *152*
Feuerstein, R., *139*, *152*
Fiedler, F., 41, *46*
Fields, S., 71, *81*
Findley, W., *139*
Fischbein, M.I., 89, *94*
Fischer, C.T., 269, *279*
Fischer, K.W., 151, *152*
Flavell, J.H., 149, *152*
Fishman, J.A., 344, *352*
Fleming, Hon. J., 231, *233*, 355, *364*
Florio, 391, *393*
Forisha, B.E., *24*, *31*
Fournier-Ruggles, L.A., 180, 225–234
French, J.W., 170, *175*
Fretz, B., 60, *64*, 335, *340*
Freud, S., 29
Frideres, J.S., 216, *223*
Friedman, M.P., 172, *175*
Friesen, W.V., *64*, 328, *340*
Frieze, I.H., 374, *381*
Fromm, E., 20, 25, *30*
Frostig, M., 157, *163*
Fulcher, R., 73, *81*
Fuller, D.W., 210, *213*
Fuller, G.B., 287, *293*
Fung, Y.L., 186, *189*

Gagne, R.M., 149, *152*
Gallagher, J.J., 158, *163*
Gamlin, P.J., 125, 141–153, 150, *152*, *153*
Garcia, J., 138, *139*
Garcia, R.E., 290, *292*
Gazda, G.M., 36, *46*
Gelatt, H.B., 211, *213*
Gendreau, P., 291, *293*
Ghosh, R., 194, *201*
Gilchrist, J., 8, *16*
Gill, S.J., 210, *213*
Giorgi, A., 269, *279*
Glasser, W., 23, *30*
Gochenour, T., 389, *393*
Goddard, H., 7
Gonsalves, J., 278
Gonzales, L., 290, *293*
Goodman, N., 159, 304, *312*
Gordon, E.W., *139*
Gottlieb, J., 345, *353*
Graham, F.K., 157, *163*
Grant, R.W., 203, 204, *213*
Graves, J.R., 60, *64*, 343, *340*
Green, A., 198, *201*
Green, D.R., 343, 346, *352*
Greene, J.R., 44, *46*
Greenson, R.R., 26, *30*
Greenwood, D.J., 21, *30*
Grier, W.H., 75, *81*
Griffiths, C.T., 290, *293*
Grimes, J.W., 307, *311*
Gronsky, B.R., 60, *64*, 331, *340*
Grummon, D.L., 27, *30*
Gudykunst, W., 388, 389, *393*
Gullahorn, J.E., 205, *213*, 241, *247*
Gullahorn, J.T., 205, *213*, 241, *247*
Gunnings, T., 209, *213*
Guskin, S.L., 156, *163*
Gutkin, T.B., 160, *163*
Haase, R.F., 37, *47*, 51, *65*, 325, 331, *340*
Haberstein, R.W., 316, *320*
Hahn, R.A., 218, *223*
Hall, C.S., 26, *30*
Hall, E.L., 290, *293*
Hall, E.T., 35, 37, *46*, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57, *64*, 325, 334, *340*
Hall, J.A., *47*, 59, *65*
Hall, 316, *320*
Hamalian, A., 9, *16*
Hamilton, K.W., 303, 304, *311*
Hammer, M., 388, 389, *393*
Hammill, D.D., 157, *163*
Hammond, S.B., 114, 115, *121*
Hansen, J.C., 43, *46*
Harrison, R.P., 35, *46*, 51, *64*, *340*
Hardy, E., 274, *279*
Harkness, S., 167, 169, *175*
Hastorf, A.H., 304, *312*
Hatcher, H.A., 283, 290, 291, *293*
Hausman, C.R., 149, *153*
Havassy, B., 359, *364*
Haynes, J., 128, *139*
Haywood, H.C., *153*
Head, W.A., 198, *201*, 204, *213*, *214*
Henry, F., 198, 199, *201*, 263
Herff, W., 69, 97–107
Higginbotham, H.N., 24, *30*
Hill, C.E., 60, *64*, 331, *340*
Hilliard, A., *139*
Hobbs, N., 156, *163*
Hobson, C., *352*
Hoffer, B., 52, *64*
Horney, K., 25, *31*
Hosford, R., 291, *294*
Hovland, C., 60, *65*
Hryniuk, S.M., 368, *381*
Hsu, F.L.K., 76, *81*, 184, 187, *189*
Huang, K.K., 185, *189*
Hughes, D.R., 9, 10, *16*, *139*, 197, *201*
Hundsalz, A., *107*
Hylton, J.H., 283, *293*

Ijaz, I.H., 363, *364*
Ijaz, M.A., 199, *201*, 363, *364*
Inouye, K., 72, *81*
Irvine, S.H., 126, 165–176, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, *175*
Ivey, A.E., 49, 51, *65*, *293*, 331, 332, *340*
Izard, B.S., 62, *65*, 328, *340*
Izard, C.E., 41, *46*, 62, *65*, 328, *340*

Jackson, J., *16*
Jacobson, E., 238, *247*
Jacobson, L., 87, *95*, 169, *176*, 374, *382*
James, Q., 310, *311*
Janis, I., 60, *65*
Jaques, M.E., 303, 305, *311*
Jencks, C., 171, *175*
Jensen, A., *139*, 345, *352*
Jilek, W.G., 218, *223*
Jilek-Aall, L., 218, *223*
Johnson, C., 62, *63*
Johnson, D.L., 142, *153*
Johnson, H.N., 62, *65*
Johnston, D.E., 357, *364*
Jones, E.E., 76, *81*
Jones, R., *139*
Jones, S.E., 35, *45*
Jordaan, J.P., 275, *279*
Josefowitz, 40
Jourard, S.M., 28, *31*
Jung, C.G., 21
Jupp, J., 116, *121*

Kaban, B., 89, *95*
Kalbach, W., 11, 14, *16*, 244, *247*
Kalin, R., *16*, 198, *201*, 240, 244, *247*
Kallen, E., 9, 10, *16*, *139*, 197, *201*
Kamin, L.J., 7, *17*, *139*
Kaneshige, E., 277, *279*
Kaplan, R.M., 167, *175*
Kassenbaum, G., 282, *293*
Kaufman, A.S., 160, *163*
Kaufman, N.L., 160, *163*
Kealey, D., 385, *393*
Keeley, C., 7, *17*
Keeton, A., 135, *139*, 157, *163*
Kelley, H., 60, *65*
Kelly, H.P., 343, *352*
Kelso, D.R., 218, *223*
Kendall, B.S., 157, *163*
Kendon, A., 53, *65*
Kennedy, C.D., 73, *81*
Kershner, J.R., 157, *163*
Kim, U., 236, *247*
King, L.M. 79, *81*
Kinloch, G., 77, *81*
Kirk, S., 157, 158, *163*
Kirk, W., 157, *163*
Kitano, H.L., 43, *46*
Klein, M.H., 242, *247*, *248*
Klineber, O., *189*
Kluckhohn, C., 21, *31*, 41, *47*
Knafle, J.D., 161, *162*
Knapp, M.L., 53, *65*
Knox, R.H., 216, *223*
Kojima, Y., 304, *311*
Kong, S.L., 179, 181–189, 186, *189*
Koppitz, E.M., 157, *163*
Korchin, S.J., 76, *81*
Korman, M., 71, *81*
Kostovcik, N., 244, 245, *247*
Kramer, R.M., 57, *66*
Kritz, M., *17*
Kubler-Ross, E., 271, *279*, 308, *311*
Kunihiro, T., 52, *65*
Kurian, G., 194, *201*, *202*
Kutner, B., 304, *311*

Labov, W., *139*, 343, *352*
Lacan, J., 220, 221, 222, *223*
Laferrière, M., *17*, *140*
LaCrosse, M.B., 331, *340*
LaFramboise, T., *66*, 62, *65*, 217, *223*
LaFrance, M., 38, *47*
Lambert, M.J., 74, *81*
Lambert, N.M., 343, 345 *352*
Lambert, W.E., 196, 197, *202*
Landis, D., 326, *340*, 383, *393*
Larsen, S.C., 157, *163*
Larter, S., 297, *301*
Lavallee, M., 147, *152*
Layton, W.L., 275, *279*
Lee, D.Y., 51, *65*, 331, *340*
Lee, J.D., 72, *81*
Lee, M., 297, *301*
Lefever, D.W., 157, *163*
Lemert, J.B., 60, *63*
Leung, P., 307, *311*
Levine, E.S., *320*
Levine, R., 74, *81*
Levine, R.A., 37, *47*
Levitan, A.T., 360, *364*
Lewis, J.F., 159, *163*
Lewis, J.M., 251, 281–294
Lin, K., 245, *247*
Lin, W.T., 181, 184, 186, *189*
Lindzey, G., 26, *30*
Linkowski, D.C., 305, *311*
Lipton, D., 291, *293*
Littrell, J.M., 58, *65*
Littrell, M.A., 58, *65*
Linveh, H., 305, *311*
Lo, I., *189*
Loganbill, C., 274, *279*
Lonner, W.J., 42, *47*, 72, *81*, *223*, 266, *267*, 291, *293*, 320, 326, 356, *364*
Lorge, I., 345, *352*
Lowe, K.D., 263, *267*
Lowen, A., 28, *31*
Ludwig, L.M., 53, *64*

Macarthur, R.S., 167, 171, *174*
Macdonald, 167
MacIntyre, R.B., 125, 135, 138, *139*, 155–164, 157, 159, *163*
MacMillan, D.L., 156, *163*, 345, *352*
Maehr, M.L., 374, *381*
Mallick, K., 92, *95*
Mall, J., 40, *47*
Mallea, J.R., 355, *364*
Maloney, H.N., 316, *320*
Mamorale, A.M., 169, *176*
Mann, T., *139*, 342, *352*, 359, *364*
Manson, S.M., 217, 218, *223*
Marinelli, R.P., 303, *311*
Markman, E.M., 149, *153*
Marr, W.L., 257, *267*

Marsden, D., 269, *279*
Marsella, A.J., 42, *47*, 71, 79, *81*, *233*, 291, *293*, 326, *340*
Martinson, R., 282, 291, *293*
Maruyama, M., 44, *46*, 58, *63*, 77, *81*
Maslow, P., 157, *163*
Massey, D. F., 309, *312*, 352, *359*, *364*
Mastai, J., 259, *267*
Masuda, M., 245, *247*
Matsui, S., 44, *46*, 58, *63*
Matsushima, N., 43, *46*
Matthews, E., 389, *393*
Mayo, C., 38, *47*
McCarthy, J., 157, *163*
McClelland, D.C., 343, *352*
McCroskey, J.C., 56, 60, *65*
McPartland, J., *138*, *352*
Mednick, M., 374, *381*
Mehrabian, A., 36, *47*, 52, *65*, 325, *340*
Meichenbaum, D., 275, *279*
Mellenbergh, G.J., 169, *176*
Mercer, J., 129, *139*, 142, *153*, 157, 159, *163*, 343, 345, 346, 347, *352*, 359, *364*
Mertz, R.J., 60, *63*
Messick, S., 169, *176*
Meyers, E., 345, *352*
Milholan, F., 24, *31*
Miller, K., *139*
Miller, M., *247*
Minsel, W.-R., 69, 97–107
Minskoff, E., 157, *163*
Minskoff, J., 157, *163*
Mishra, S.P., 343, *352*
Mitchell, H., 217, *223*
Mitchell, R.E., 186, *189*
Mitchell, T., 41, *46*
Mitsakos, C., 383, *393*
Mohatt, G., 391, *393*
Montagu, A., 37, 38, *47*, 52, *65*, 334, *340*
Mood, A., *138*, *352*
Moore, C.L., 159, 160, *164*
More, A.J., 159, *163*
Morgan, B., 307, *311*
Morgan, H.H., 275, *279*
Morris, J.B., 363, *364*
Morrish, I., 6, *17*, *139*
Morton, G., 42, *46*, 73, *80*, 326, *339*
Mowder, B., *353*
Mukherjee, A., 199, *202*
Mullahy, P., 20, *31*
Muller, J.P., 219, *223*
Murphy, H.B.M., 244, *247*
Murray, S.R., 374, *381*
Murray, W., 8, *17*, 41, *47*
Muszynski, L., 253, 256, *267*
Myers, R.A., 275, *279*

Nash, R., 87, *94*
Neice, D., 244, 245, *247*
Nevison, M.B., 275, *279*
Ngini, L., *152*
Nguyen, M., 253, 256, *267*
Nicholls, A., 8, *17*
Noble, H., *213*
Norman, D., 211, *214*
North, R., 344, *352*

Oakland, T., 157, 159, *164*, 346, *353*
Oberg, K., 205, *214*
O'Conner, N., 172, *175*
Oeser, O.A., 114, 115, *121*
Ohlsen, M.M., 210, *214*
Okonji, M.O., 167, *176*
Oldridge, B., 159, *163*
Olivarez, C.L., 44, *47*
Olmedo, E.L., 73, *81*, *140*, *164*
Omari, I., 167, 171, *175*, *176*
Ornstein, M.D., 257, 258, *267*
Orr, I.G., 167, 168, *176*
Ortony, A., 150, *153*
Osborn, J., *138*
Osgood, C.E., 371, *381*
Owens, C.E., 290, *293*

Padilla, A.M., 43, *47*, 52, 57, *65*, 74, *81*, *320*
Padilla, J.M., 308, *311*, 361, *364*
Parai, L., 198, *202*
Pares, E.T., *214*
Pasqule, F.L., 217, *223*
Patkin, J., 331, *339*
Patterson, C.H., *31*
Patterson, J.C., 51, *65*, 114, 331, *340*
Peal, E., 196, *202*
Pedersen, A., 77, *81*
Pederson, P., 69, 71–82, 77, *81*, 222, 264, 266, *267*, 276, *279*, 291, *293*, *320*, 326, *340*, 356, 358, *364*, 390, 391, 392, *393*
Pennington, D.C., 50, 54, *63*
Peoples, V.Y., 62, *65*
Perry, R.P., 324, 367–382, 368, 375, 380, *381*
Peters, R., 218, *223*
Peterson, J.D., 159, *164*
Petras, E., 5, *17*
Pflaum, S.W., 161, *162*
Phillips, B., 346, *353*
Phillips, L., 131, *140*
Phung, T., 253, *267*
Piaget, J., 143, *153*, 168
Plomin, R., 89, *94*
Plotkin, L., *138*
Poortinga, Y., 169, *176*
Porche, L.M., 62, *65*
Porter, J., 15, *17*, 355, *364*, 367, *381*
Porter, R., 54, *65*
Potts, A., 111, *121*
Potts, E.D., 111, *121*
Powell, E., 129
Price-Williams, D.R., 168, *176*

Queen, S.A., 316, *320*

Raj, S., 193, *202*
Ramcharan, S., 193, 198, *202*, 309, *311*
Rappaport, H.T., 374, *382*
Rappaport, M.M., 374, *382*
Rappaport, R., *293*
Ravens, J.C., 378, *382*
Reidel, M., *293*
Reidford, P., *138*
Reitz, J., 214, 253, 256, 257, 262, 266, *267*
Reppucci, N.D., 380, *381*
Res, J., 199, *202*
Reschitzki, J., 146, *152*
Reschly, D.J., 136, 137, *140*, 142, *153*, 159, 164

Reuning, H., 170, 173, *175*
Reynolds, C.R., *299*, *301*
Richards, D.D., 142, 149, 151, *153*
Richardson, A., 115, *121*
Richardson, S.A., 304, *312*
Richardson, W.J., 219, *223*
Richmond, A., 13, *17*, 244, *247*, 256, 263, *267*
Riessmann, R., *140*
Rivera, E., 390, *393*
Roberg, R., *293*
Robertson, M.L., 148, *153*
Robinson, M., 345, *353*
Robinson, J.J., 60, *64*, 282, *293*, 331, *340*
Rodriguez, R., 390, *393*
Roeher, G.A., 304, *312*
Rogan, L., 344, *352*
Rogers, C.R., 26, 27, 29, *31*, 275, *279*, 316, *320*, *365*
Rogers, P.L., *47*, 59, *65*
Rokeach, 40, *47*
Romero, M., 211, *214*
Romig, D.A., 282, *293*
Rosen, B.C., 357, *365*, 374, *382*
Rosenbauch, J., 343, *353*
Rosenfeld, H.M., 35, *47*
Rosenthal, R., 36, 40, *47*, 59, *65*, 87, *95*, 169, *176*, 374, *382*
Ross, A.D., 194, *202*
Ross, R., 282, 283, 291, *293*
Rotenberg, M., 76, *81*
Rothenberg, A., 149, *153*
Rotter, J., *214*
Rowe, W., 217, *223*
Royce, J., 305, *312*
Ruben, B., 385, *393*
Rugel, R.P., 160, *164*
Ruiz, R.A., 43, *47*, 308, *311*, 360, *364*
Russo, N.F., 73, *81*
Ryan, W., *162*, *164*
Rychlak, J.F., 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, *31*

Saccuzzo, D.P., 167, *175*
Sadongei, M., 218, *224*
Salt, J., 5, *6*, *17*
Salvendy, J.T., 309, *312*
Salvia, J., 137, 140, 157, 159, 161, *164*
Samenow, S., 287, *294*
Sampson, E., 76, *82*
Samuda, R.J., 3, 5–17, 12, 14, *17*, 42, *47*, 157, *164*, *205*, *214*, 290, *293*, 308, 310, *312*, 323, 343–353, 343, 344, 345, 346, 348, *351*, *353*, 356, 357, 359, 361, 362, *365*
Samuel, T.J., 263,265, *267*
Sanchez, D.Z., 161, *162*
Santigo, R.L., 360, *365*
Santos, R.B., 52, *64*
Sattler, J., *140*, 157, 160, *164*, *353*, 359, *365*
Saxe, L., 376, *381*
Scarr, S., 137, *140*
Scheflen, A.E., 52, *65*
Schneider, C.R., 304, *312*
Schreiber, J., 203, 204, 210, *214*
Schumacher, L.C., 44, *47*
Schwarz, P., 167, 168, *176*
Scribner, S., 150, *153*, 168, *176*
Seika, F.L., 305, *311*
Seligman, L., 44, *47*
Seligman, M.P., *214*, 379, *382*
Selltiz, C., 242, *248*
Semmel, I.M., 345, *353*
Sharma, R.D., 257, 258, *267*
Shiman, D.A., 362, *365*
Shipp, P.L., 210, *214*
Shirts, G., 389, *393*
Shontz, F.C., 303, *312*
Shostrom, E.L., 281, *292*
Shuey, A., *140*
Shultz, J., 77, *81*, 390, 391, *393*
Siegelman, L., 60, *64*, 331, *340*
Siegler, R.S., 142, 149, 151, *153*
Sifton, C., 10
Silverman, H., *139*
Silvey, K., 167, 171, *176*
Simpkins, G.A., 209, *213*
Singh, A.K., 243, *248*
Skinner, B.F., 20, 25, 29, *31*
Sladen, B.J., 51, 58, *66*
Slavin, R.E., 376, *382*
Smith, E.J., 43, *46*, 73, *82*
Smith, G., 282, *293*
Smith, J.O., 157, *163*
Smith, M.D., 160, *164*
Smith, P., 40, *47*
Smutkupt, S., 55, 56, *66*
Spradley,J.P., 337, 338, *340*
Srivastava, R.P., 192, *202*
St. Martin, G.M., 61, *66*
Stapp, J., 73, *81*
Statt, D., 388, *393*
Stenhouse, L., 88, *95*
Sternberg, R.J., *140*, *153*, 173, *174*, *176*
Stevens, F.S., 113, 114, *121*
Stewart, E.C., 315, *320*, 389, *393*
Stini, W.A., 21, *30*
Stipek, D.J., 380, *382*
Stonequist, E.V., *248*
Storr, A., 21, 25, *31*
Strauss, J.S., 79, *82*, 347, *352*
Stubbins, J., 303, *312*
Stubblefield, 205, *214*
Sturniolo, F., 60, *64*, 331, *340*
Suci, G.J., 371, *381*
Sue, D., 55, *66*, 227, 232, *233*, 289, *293*, 309, *312*, 358, 361, *365*
Sue, D.W., 42, *46*, *47*, 49, 51, 54, 55, 56, 60, 62, *66*, 73, 74, *80*, *82*, 217, 222, *223*, 227, 232, *233*, 272, 275, *279*, 289, *293*, 303, 305, 307, 308, 309, *312*, 326, 339, *340*, 356, 357, 358, 361, *365*
Sullivan, H.S., 26, *31*
Sundberg, N.D., 41, *47*, 73, *82*, 290, *293*
Super, C.M., 73, *82*, 167, 169, *175*
Super, D.E., 214, *233*
Susman, N.M., 35, *47*
Smyth, C.K., 205, *213*
Szalay, L.B., 45, *47*

Taft, R., *17*, 70, 109-121, *121*
Tajfel, H., 91, 95, 243, *248*

Tanaka-Matsumi, J., 24, *30*
Tannenbaum, P.H., 371, *381*
Tate, D.G., 305, *312*
Taylor, D.M., *16*, 198, *201*, 240, 244, *247*
Taylor, I., *365*
Tazuma, L., 245, *247*
Tenny, J.W., 304, 305, *312*
Tepper, D., 37, *47*, 325, *340*
Terman, L., 7
Terrell, M., *139*
Tesconi, C., 386, *393*
Thomson, G., 166
Thorndike, R.L., 169, *176*
Tinglin, W.H., 131, *140*, 251, 253–268, 257, *267*, 343, *353*
Tinsley, H.E.A., 57, *66*
Tolbert, E.L., 228, *233*
Tooley, K., 295, *214*
Torney-Purta, J., 354, 383–394, 383, 384, 386, 389, *393*, *394*
Tramposch, F.R., 150, *153*
Triandis, H.C., 41, *46*, 85, 91, *95*
Trickett, P.I., 89, *95*
Trimble, J.E., 42, *47*, 72, *81*, 217, 218, *223*, *233*, *266*, *267*, 291, *293*, 356, *364*
Tseng, K.-H., *247*
Tseng, W.H., 185, *189*
Tsuji, G.K., 296, *301*
Tucker, J.A., 158, *164*
Tucker, S.J., 208, 209, *214*
Turk, D., 275, *279*
Turritin, J.S., 262, *267*
Tyhurst, L., 241, *248*
Tyler, R., *140*

Ubale, B., 198, *202*

Vako, P., *293*
Van den Berghe, 20, 21, *31*
Van der Flier, H., 167, 169, 171, *175*, *176*
Varenhorst, B., 211, *213*
Vargo, F.A., 304, *312*
Vargo, J.W., 252, 303–313, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, *312*
Vash, C.L., 303, 306, *312*
Verma, G.K., 83–95, *95*
Vernon, P.E., *176*
Verster, M.A., 168, *176*
Vestermark, J.J., 357, *364*
Vontress, C.E., 3, 19–31, 28, *31*, 43, *47*, 217, *223*, 263, 264, 266, *268*, 277, *279*, 305, *312*, 384, *394*
Vygotsky, L.S., 142, 143, 151, *153*

Wagner, N.N., 73, *81*
Walsh, M., 391, *393*
Wantman, M., 167, *176*
Ward, D., 282, *293*
Warner, R.W., 43, *46*
Watson, M., 51, *66*
Waxer, P.H., 3, 4, 36, *48*, 49–66, 53, 61, *66*, 323, 325–341, 325, 327, 328, *339*, *340*
Webb, V., *293*
Wehrly, B., 230, 231, *233*
Weiner, B., 374, *381*
Weinfeld, F., *138*, *352*
Weiss, D.S., 39, *48*
Weisz, J.R., 380, *382*
Weitz, S., 36, *48*
Weston, N.H., 305, *312*
Westwood, M., 241, *248*
Westwood, M.J., *234*, 252, 303–313, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, *312*, 356, *365*
White, B., *89*, *95*
White, L.A., 20, 24, *31*
Whitely, S., 291, *294*
Whiteman, M., 344, *352*
Whittlesey, J.R., 157, *163*
Willie, C.V., 57, *66*
Willis, F.N., 35, *48*
Wilks, J., 291, *293*
Williams, R.L., 343, 345, 346, *353*
Williamson, E.G., 23, *31*
Wilmer, H.A., 329, *341*
Wilner, D., 282, *293*
Wilson, W., 75, *82*, 357, *365*
Winifree, L.T., 190, *193*
Wiseman, D., 157, *163*
Wishnie, H., 286, *294*
Wolfe, R., 131, *140*
Wolfgang, A., 3, 33–48, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 42, *48*, 54, 59, *66*, 217, 222, *224*, 266, *268*, 303, 305, 309, *312*, 323, 325–341, 325, 333, 335, 336, 341, 356, 357, *365*
Wolfgang, J., *48*
Wolman, H., *214*
Woods, E., 277, *279*
Woods, S.C., *17*, 33, *47*
Workneh, F., *247*
Wrenn, G.C., 75, *82*, 357, *365*
Wright, B.A., 303, 304, 306, *313*
Wright, B.R., 187, *189*
Wright, E.N., 296, *301*
Wylam, B., *48*
Wyspianski, J.O., 180, 225–234, 378, *382*

Yalom, 210
Yamamoto, J., 310, *311*
Yeh, E.-K., 242, 246, *247*, *248*
Yerkes, R., 7
Yeudall, L.T., 287, *294*
Yochelson, S., 287, *294*
York, R., *138*, *352*
Youngman, G., 218, *224*
Yousef, F., 51, 60, *66*
Ysseldyke, J.B., 137, *140*, 157, 159, 161, *164*, 347, *352*
Yuen, K.W.R., 57, *66*
Yuker, H.E., 304, 305, *313*

Zaidi, H., 243, *248*
Zarske, J.A., 159, 160, *164*
Zigler, E., 89, *95*
Ziller, R.C., *214*
Zingle, H.W., 51, *65*, 331, *340*
Zubrzycki, J., 8, 9, *17*

Subject Index

ABCD System, 347
Acculturation, 180, 182, 236f.
  academic adaption, 244
  course of, 241
  degree of, 310
  domains of adaptation, 242
  environmental adaptation, 243
  modes of, 238, 239
  psychological adaptation, 245
  socio-cultural adaptation, 243
  state of, 309
Adjustment process, 204
Africa, 127, 130, 169, 171, 191
Africans, 57, 169
  identity of, 210
Age, 59, 230, 285
Americans, 35, 334
  Asian, 72, 73
  Mexican, 160
  Native, 60, 62, 74, 328
Aptitude tests, 135
Arabs, 8, 39, 55, 59, 334
Asia, 7, 127, 130
Asians, 57, 117
Asian Americans, 72, 73
Assessment,
  and vocational choice, 310
  classroom, 375
  cognitive, 141–153
  comprehensive individual, 136
  in North America, 125, 129
  in Ontario schools, 125, 131
  non-biased cross-cultural, 137
  non-biased procedures, 355 ff., 360, 361 362
  procedures, 136
  psychological, 137
  trends and alternatives in, 358
  within Britain, 125, 127
  within prisons, 290
Asylum
  persons seeking, 97, 101
Australia, 7, 8, 127
  immigration, 8, 9, 109, 113
  Immigration Restriction Act, 8
Australian
  attitudes toward immigrants, 109–121, 116, 119
  cultural diversity, 110
  history, 110
  immigrants, 110, 113
  leaders, 120
  public opinion surveys on immigration, 114
Azores, 133

Bangladesh, 191
Barbados, 191
Behavior
  gaze, 53
  maladaptive, 24, 26
Behaviorism, 24
Belgium, 196
Bender Visual Perception, 135
Biculturalism, 11
Bilingualism, 11, 196, 200, 391
Blacks, 58, 72, 73, 117, 159, 160, 283
Britain, 164, 127, 172, 182, 191, 237
British, 284, 371, 374, *see also* English
  differential evaluations, 371
  education, 87, 88
  ethnicity, 86
  immigration, 116
  perspectives in intercultural counselling, 83–95
  schools, 125, 127, 128
British Columbia, 192
Burma, 191
Burnout, 271
Butler Act of 1944, 127

Cambodia, 75
Canada, 7, 9, 10, 11, 127, 255, 334, 384
Canadian Act, 12

- Career development, 230
- Caribbeans, 75, 127, 182, 283
  - refugees, 130
- Central America, 182
- Charitas, 99
- Chicanos, 75, 159
- China, 182, 185
- Chinese, 8, 10, 55, 179, 181 ff., 192, 256, 332, 368
- Chinese Canadians, 179, 181 ff., 368
- Civil Rights Movement, 74
- Classroom
  - assessment, 375
  - remediation, 376
- Client
  - double-minority, 303 ff.
  - expectations and preferences, 56
- Cognitive
  - strategies, 141–153
- Comembership, 77
- Communication, 227
  - conventions, 55
- Competence, 141, 383 ff.
- Confrontation techniques, 358
- Confucianism, 183, 184
- Coping skills, 207 f.
- Correctional Service
  - counselling minorities, 281–294
- Counselling (cross-cultural)
  - Chinese, 181–189
  - double-minority clients, 303–313
  - ethnocultural representation, 71
  - European immigrants, 225–234
  - immigrants for employment, 269–279
  - intervention, 274
  - methodology, 22
  - minorities for higher education, 315–320
  - minorities with learning or cognitive deficits, 295–301
  - minorities within the correctional service, 281–294
  - Native Canadians, 215–224
  - school, 355–365
  - skills, 356
  - social system variables, 77, 289
  - South Asian immigrants, 191–202
  - specific ethnic and cultural groups, 179 ff.
  - theories of, 19
  - West Indian immigrants, 203–382
  - within multicultural schools, 367–382
- Credibility, 60
- Crime, 284
- Cubans, 75, 130
- Cultural
  - bias, 92
  - definitions of time, 54
  - differences, 20
  - diversity, 110
  - interface, 185
  - universals, 61
  - views and attitudes towards disability, 304 f.
- Cultural shock, 226

- Denmark, 127, 305
- Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, 99
- Diakonisches Werk, 99
- Disability, 304
- Displaced persons, 104
- Dutch, 368
- Dynamics of intercultural contact, 74
- Dysfunctional learning processes, 157
- Dyslexia, 131

- ELP (estimates of learning potential), 159
- East Africa, 196
- East Indians, 198, 306
- Education, 15, 228
  - counselling minorities for higher education, 315–320
  - level of within penitentiaries, 287
  - of Europeans, 228
  - measurement and evaluation, 359
  - philosophy of, 134 f.
- Eigenwelt, 27
- Einfühlung, 315
- Eleven plus, 127
- Employment
  - counselling immigrants for, 269–279
  - counselling minority immigrants for, 253–268
  - goals for immigrants, 259, 261, 264
  - counselling needs, 261
- England, 187, *see also* Britain
- English, 59, 334, *see also* British
  - immigration, 115
- ESL (English as a second language), 136, 333
- Ethnic minorities, 73, 76, 97, 103, 305
- Ethnicity, 378
- Ethnocentrism, 132, 134, 135
- Europe, 191, 226, 337
- Europeans, 182, 225 ff., 283
- Existentialism, 27

Family, 229
Feminism, 74
Fiji Islands, 191
Filipino, 372, 374
France, 127, 237
French, 55, 368, 371, 372
French-Canadians, 283, 328, 371, 372

Gastarbeiter, 69, 97, 98
Gaze, 53
German (people), 284
  asylanten, 97, 101
  displaced persons, 97, 104
  ethnische minderheiten, 79, 103
  gastarbeiter, 97, 100
  spätaussiedler, 97, 103
  within Canadian multicultural classrooms, 368
Germany, 127, 97–107, 237
  counselling centres in, 100, 101, 105
  perspectives in intercultural counselling, 97–107
Gestures, 55
Gibraltar, 191
Greece, 305
Greeks, 117
Group means, 168
Guyana, 191
Guidance, 360

Haitians, 130
Han (people), 183
Hindu, 192
Hispanics, 57, 72, 73, 75, 160, 390
Holland, 196
Homophily, 58
Hong Kong, 14, 182, 237
Horizontal transfer task, 143

IEA Civic Education survey, 385f.
IQ, 128, 135, 136, 157, 158, 169, 197, 357
Immigrant(s), 11, 12, 14, 33
  Asian, 117
  British, 116
  counselling, 269–279
  European, 97, 103, 180, 225–234
  German, 97, 103
  minority, 254ff.
  population, 255
  screening of, 133
  student adjustment, 133
  Third World, 256
  West Indian, 203ff.
Immigration
  adjustment process, 204
  Asian, 7
  Australian, 7, 8, 9
  in Canada, 7, 9, 13
  Chinese, 8, 10, 183
  ethnic-blind, 12
  in Australia, 110
  Japanese, 10
  point system, 11
  South-Asian, 191ff.
  in United States, 7
India, 130, 182, 191, 192, 196, 237, 334
Indians
  Navajo, 159
  Papago, 159
  Sioux, 55
Indo-Chinese
  refugees, 256
Intellectual development theory, 148
Intelligence, 288
Intercultural contact
  political dynamics of, 74
Intercultural counselling, 33, 34, 42, 83, 84
  and nonverbal behavior, 33, 49
  assumptions on interactions, 385
  British perspectives, 83–95
  competence, 383–394
  for students, 377
  for teachers, 375
  training programs for, 323ff.
  US perspectives, 71–82
  West German perspectives, 97–107
Iranians, 57, 332
Italians, 117, 328, 332, 334, 368

Jamaica, 191, 332
Japanese, 10, 35, 52, 192, 304, 334
Jugendsozialwerk, 99

K-ABC (Kaufman Assessment Battery for Children), 160, 161, 162
Kenya, 191
Kinesics, 35
KIS (*K*nowledge-*I*ntuition-*S*kill), 335
Kontingentflüchtlinge, 102
Korean, 328, 330

Labelling, 136
Labour market, 262
Language, 106, 119, 227, 263, 288
Laos, 75

Larry P. versus Wilson Riles, 129
Latins, 334
Learning-impaired minority students
  counselling of, 295–301
  impairment, 156
  LD (learning disabled), 159, 161
  norm-referenced testing of, 161
  techniques for identification, 155–164
Learned helplessness, 379
Lebanese, 14
"Le Reel" (Lacanian theory), 219f.
London, 344
LPAD (Learning Potential Assessment Device), 146

Malaysia, 237
Mauritius, 191
Measurement and evaluation strategies, 359
Melting pot, 133
Mental Health Movement, 74
Mental illness, 22, 289
Miami, 125, 129, 344
Migration
  permanent, 6
  temporary, 5
Minority populations, 73, 295ff., 303ff., 315ff.
  counselling, 253–268, 281–294, 295–301, 303–313, 315–320
  ethnic, 73, 76
  higher education, 315–320
  students, 155
  with learning or cognitive deficits, 295ff.
Mitwelt, 27
Morocco, 237
Mother tongue, 134, *see also* Language
  of minority immigrants, 256
Multicultural individuals, 94
  characteristics of, 94
  classroom composite, 368
  education, 283–394
  orientation, 94
  philosophy, 368
Multiculturalism, 13, 14, 16, 109, 120
  attitudes toward, 118
  implications for teachers and students, 367–382
  in school counselling, 355–365, 367–382

National Institute of Mental Health, 71
Native Canadians, 58, 179, 215–224, 283, 318, 368, 371, 373, 380
  economic dependence, 216
  female, 58
  in penitentiaries, 283
  poverty, 216
  self-identity, 216
Nepal, 191
Nigeria, 168
Nonverbal behavior, 33, 36, 38, 40, 49, 51, 52, 53, 59, 227, 385
  enhancing sensitivity of counsellors, 325–341
  gaze behavior, 53
  kinesics, 35, 36
  olfactory issues, 53
  paralinguistics, 35, 36
  physical appearance, 50
  proxemics, 35, 51
  touch, 52
Norway, 127

Ontario, 125, 130, 134, 255, 284
Ottawa, 256

Pakistan, 130, 133, 191
Paralinguistics, 35, 36
Pastoral care, 84
Pathology, 136
Performance, 141
Personality, 286
Phenomenology, 26
Philosophy of education, 134
Physical
  appearance, 50
  handicaps, 286
Pluralism, 80, 88, 119, 132
  norms, 136
  perspectives, 80
Point system, 11
Portuguese, 14, 28, 274
Potential to learn
  and culture, 149
  and train, 147
Presidential Commission on Mental Health, 71
Process-oriented task analyses, 146
Proxemics, 35, 51
Psychoanalysis, 25
Psycho-linguistic theory, 157
Psychological adaptation, 235ff.
Psychological tests
  standardized, 129, 135, 166, 345
  use of, 14, 92, 135

Public opinion surveys, 114, 118
Puerto Rican(s), 169

Quebec, 13

Race, 89
Racism, 114, 200
Rapport building, 309f.
Rationalism, 23
Reflective practitioner, 390
Relationships, 171
Research in minority testing, 165–176
Russia, 130
Russians, 55

SAT (Scholastic Apritude Test), 169
Saudi Arabia, 56
Scandinavia(n), 284, 368
School,
  counselling, 355–365
  system, 297
Scottish, 328
Screening, 133
Scottish, 328
Sexuality, 285
Shifts, 236
Silence, 55
Singapore, 182, 237
Social
  acceptibility, 197f.
  class, 289
SOFTENS, 334
SOMPA (System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment), 159, 162
Sonderschule (German school for learning disabled children), 104
South Africa, 182, 195
South America(ns), 41
South Asia(ns), 179, 191ff., 283, 330
  concept of family, 194f.
South Pacific, 191
Spanish, 55
Special education, 131, 134, 136
Special subject programs for low achieving students, 136
Sri Lanka, 191
Status, 59
Stereotyping, 92, 187
Stress, 236
Stimulus identity, 168
Students, 57, 180
  African, 57
  American, 60, 237
  Arab, 59
  Asian, 57
  foreign, 235ff
  French, 374
  Iranian, 57
  Italian, 38, 368
  learning impaired minority, 155–164
  minority, 316, 360
  Native, 58, 60, 318
  Oxford, 59
  Portugese, 374
  West Indian, 60
Sweden, 127
Sydney, 344

Taiwan, 182
Tanzania, 191
Taoism, 183, 184
Teacher roles, 385f.
Test-train-test, 125, 147
Testing, 92, 137, 157, 361, 346
  cross-cultural, 167
  in mother tongue, 134
  in Ontario, 135
  minority group children, 344
  of minorities, 165–176
  reduction of general bias, 347
  use of psychological tests, 92, 129
Thais, 55
Therapy, 71
Time
  cultural definition of, 54
Tobago, 237
Toronto, 12, 14, 125, 130, 182, 198, 203, 255, 296, 337, 344
Toronto Board of Education, 296, 298, 300
Touch, 52
Toysan, 182
Training
  counsellors, 325–341
  model for enhancing teachers' intercultural competence, 383–394
  model for implementing non-biased assessment procedures, 343–353
  intercultural techniques of teachers' 383ff., 388f., 392
  programs for intercultural counselling, 323ff.
Turks,8

Uganda, 191
Ukranians, 11, 368

Unemployment, 270
  counselling intervention, 274f.
  dynamics of, 270ff.
  in Australia, 116
United States, 6, 71, 127, 174, 237, 305, 325, 384, 386
Umwelt, 20, 27
USSR, 237

VQ-PQ discrepancy, 159, 160
Venezuela(ns), 35, 237
Vertical transfer, 149
Victorian Immigration Agent (John Patterson), 114
Vietnam, 75, 130, 182
Vietnamese, 332
Vocational guidance, 360
Voice, 55

WISC-R, 135, 157, 159, 160, 169
Wales, 196
Weltanschauung, 315
Wepman Auditiory Discrimination Test, 135
West Indians, 35, 39, 41, 61, 172, 179, 203–214, 255, 263, 328, 334
West Indies, 130, 191, 196
Whites, 58, 159, 357
Wirtschaftswunder, 98
Women, 73
  European immigrants, 231
  Native, 58

Yugoslavian, 328

Zone of proximal development (Vygotsky's theory), 142, 143, 151
Zimbabwe, 191

***Ronald J. Samuda** is Professor in the Area of Psychology and Philosophy at the Faculty of Education of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.*

***Aaron Wolfgang** is Associate Professor in the Department of Applied Psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and the University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.*

CONTENTS

I. Philosophical and Theoretical Concepts
II. Comparative Models and Perspectives from Multi cultural Countries
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IV. Counselling Specific Ethnic and Cultural Groups
V. Counselling Minorities in Specific Environments
VI. Training Programs for Intercultural Counselling

This collection of articles on the basic concepts underlying cultural diversity in modern society fills a void in the field of intercultural counselling: the need for global perspectives. Authors from five countries discuss, both on a theoretical and practical level, the field of intercultural communication and review guidelines for training counsellors as well as for the assessment and placement of ethnic minorities. Special attention is paid to the use of tests. This volume addresses itself to those concerned with human communication, specifically (1) counsellor education, (2) clinical and counselling psychology, (3) government training programs, (4) social science departments, (5) employment counselling, (6) practical teaching and counselling in schools, corrections and special education.

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